

RAYCHAUDHURI (G.)

Ph.D.

(Indian History)

1948.

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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

The main purpose of the present thesis is to give an account of the political activities of the Western Chālukyas, who ruled at Bādāmi and Kalyāṇī, based on the results of modern research. It has been also deemed proper to add a special chapter on their system of administration. Hence the title "History of the Western Chālukyas (political and administrative)."

The thesis opens with a discussion of the various legends of Chālukya origin found in inscriptions, and the modern views on the subject. The second chapter describes the rise of the Chalukyas under Jayasimha, Raṇanāga and Pulakesin I. The third traces the growth of the Chālukya Kingdom under Kirtivarman I and Maṅgaleśa. Chapter four gives an account of the wide activities of Pulakesin II, who attained for his house the imperial position in the South. Chapter five deals with the reigns of his successors till their sovereignty was extinguished by the Rāshtrakūṭas. Chapter six tells about the fortune of the Chālukya race in the Western Deccan during the period of the Rāshtrakūṭa supremacy. Chapter seven recounts the story of the re-establishment of the Chālukya sovereignty

by Taila II, and the beginnings of the conflict with the Paramāras and the Cholas which lasted through generations. The history of the Chālukyas under Jayasīma II, Someśvara I, Someśvara II and Vikramāditya VI forms the theme of chapters eight and nine. All these rulers, except Someśvara II, prove to be able, energetic and vigorous; they not only successfully maintained their position against the repeated onslaughts of external enemies, but also succeeded in extending their influence in different directions. Chapter ten traces the gradual decline of the Chālukya power and its final disappearance under the last four kings of the race. The concluding chapter has been devoted to the elucidation of the important aspects of the Chālukyan administration.

Thesis submitted for the Ph.D. Examination, 1948

THE HISTORY OF THE WESTERN CHĀLUKYAS

(Political and Administrative)

by

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PREFACE.

The purpose of this thesis is to sketch the political history of the Chālukyas who ruled in the Western Deccan and the administrative system under them. Such an attempt is not altogether new. More than fifty years before, Sir R.G. Bhandarkar and Dr. J.F. Fleet made valuable contributions on this subject in their Early History of the Deccan and the Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts respectively. Since then a vast amount of epigraphic materials has been made available to the students of the history of the Chālukyas in the pages of the Epigraphia Indica, Epigraphia Carnatica, the volumes on the South Indian Inscriptions and the Varāṅkata Inscriptions, Annual Reports on the South Indian Epigraphy, Kannada Research in Bombay Province, Archaeological Survey of India, Departments of Archaeology of the Mysore State and the Nizam's Dominions, G.H. Khare's Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan and various other journals and periodicals. Much new information has thus come to light.

A study of several contemporary Kanarese books has also been made to yield data in connection with the later Chālukyas which were not utilized before (1). Finally, fresh light has been thrown on particular problems of Chālukya history by Fleet himself in some of his subsequent writings, and by other scholars like Kielhorn, Hultzsch, Rice, Barnett, Narasimhachar, Pathak, Shamasastri, Nilakanta Sastri, Mirashi, Altekar, Father Heras, Gopalan, Moraes, Krishna Rao, D.C. Ganguly and others. All these facts have prompted me to undertake the present work.

In writing the thesis I have utilised all the available original sources in Sanskrit and Kanarese, - both epigraphic and literary - including Sir Walter Elliot's collection of copies of South Indian Inscriptions in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society in London.

- (1) For the sources that were available at the time when Bhandarkar and Fleet wrote, see the Introduction to the latter's *Dynasties of the Kanarese districts*.

Some of the original passages from the Kanarese literature will be found in S. Srikantha Sastri's *Sources of the Karnāṭaka History*.

For Tamil sources, however, I had to rely on translations of Chola epigraphs and the information contained in Nilakanta Sastri's books on the Cholas. It is needless to say that the works and articles of the previous writers have been of immense help to me in fulfilling my task. I have, however, added much to the information supplied by them, and my conclusions are not seldom different from theirs. I have also tried to present old materials in a new shape.

The process of the growth of legends of Chālukya origin in the west, the probability of the rise of the early Chālukyas after overthrowing a local Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty, the importance of the works of Kīrtivarman I and of Mangaleśa in relation to those of Pulakesin II, the proper significance of the reign of that great emperor in relation to the events that followed his death, the causes of the sudden collapse of the early Chālukya power, the factors contributing to the revival of Chālukya power by Taila II and the gradual establishment of his suzerainty in the Deccan, the account of Somesvara I's conflict with the Cholas from the ^{Chālukya} inscriptions

of his own time, the causes and course of the decline of the later Chālukya power are some of the topics that have been dealt with in this thesis for the first time. Another new point to which I have drawn attention is the occurrence of the family name Chālukya with long ā in the genuine records of the early period. I also believe that no serious attempt to make a ^{systematic} comprehensive study of the administrative system of the Western Chālukyas has been made elsewhere before this (2) I should, however, like to add that I have refrained from filling up obvious gaps in the account of the Chālukyan administration with information taken out of theoretical treatises on statecraft, or having recourse to imagination. My purpose has been to present the exact data that are found in contemporary inscriptions of the Western Chālukyas themselves and their subordinates. Other omissions are lists of Chālukya feudatories and officials which will be found in the Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts and Indian Antiquary (1918, pp. 287ff; 1919, pp. 1ff), and a summary of the Chālukyan inscriptions, which are too numerous to be included in a thesis like this.

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- (a) Some superficial accounts will be found in the Journal of the Mythic Society, vol. XXXI. Nos. 3-4; and R.S. Murgali's Heritage of Karnataka, Chapters IV - VI; the local administration.

The term "Deccan" has been used in this work in a limited sense which broadly excludes from within its boundaries the Tamil and Malayalam speaking areas. The phrases "early Chālukyas", "later Chālukyas", and "eastern Chālukyas" have been used to designate the members of the tribe who ruled at Vātāpi, Mānyakheta and Kalyāni, and Pishtapura and Vengi respectively.

I have followed the old system of transliteration as will be seen from such examples as "Kaṭachchuri", "Bhrīgukachchha", "Kṛishnā", "Rāshtrakūṭa", etc., Diacritical marks have been omitted in the case of modern place-names, and their ordinary spellings have been retained. References to well known facts, or those found in the Early History of the Deccan and the Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts have been generally omitted to avoid a large number of foot-notes.

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I shall be failing in my duty if I do not express my deep sense of indebtedness to my supervisor Dr.L.D.Barnett of the School of Oriental and African Studies for the keen interest he has taken in the progress of the present work, his ungrudging help in elucidating certain literary and inscriptional passages (particularly in the Elliott Collection), supplying me with a number of valuable references, his general suggestions and guidance, and for going through the whole of my manuscripts. My acknowledgements are also due to Mr.Alfred Master of the same institution, with whom I read the Kanarese language, and to Messrs.G.K. Ghori of the University of Mysore and K.F.Motiwallah for rendering help in preparing the map.

London

1.7.48

G.RayChandhuri

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List of Abbreviations.

- ABORI : Annals of the Bhardarkar Oriental Research Institute.
- AHD : Ancient History of the Deccan by J.Dubreuil.
- ASI or .
- ASI,AR: Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India.
- BG : Bombay Gazetteer.
- BK : List of Bombay-Karnatak Inscriptions published as an appendix to the Annual Report on the South Indian Epigraphy.
- BKI : Bombay-Karnatak Inscriptions, Vol.I.pt I, published as vol XL.pt.I. of the South Indian Inscriptions.
- BISMJ,
BISMQ : Bhārata Itihāsa Samśhodhaka Maṇḍala Journal or Quarterly.
- CITD : A Corpus of Inscriptions of the Telingana Districts of N.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions.
- DHNI : Dynastic History of Northern India by H.C.Ray
- DKD : Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts by J.F.Fleet
(1896)
- EC : Epigraphia Carnatica
- EHD : Early History of the Deccan by R.G.Bhandarkar
(3rd Edition)

- EHI : Early History of India by V.A. Smith (4th Edition)
 EI : Epigraphia Indica.
 Elliot : Copies of South Indian Inscriptions by W. Elliot
 in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.
 Hy. ARCH. : Hyderabad Archaeological Series.
 SER.
 HMEI : History of Mediaeval and Hindu India by
 C.V. Vaidya
 HPD : History of the Paramāra Dynasty by D.C. Ganguly
 IA : Indian Antiquary
 IHQ : Indian Historical Quarterly
 IMP : Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency by
 V. Rangacharya.
 JAHRS : Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society.
 JASB : Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
 JBBRAS : Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic
 Society.
 JBHS : Journal of the Bombay Historical Society.
 JIH : Journal of Indian History.
 JOR : Journal of Oriental Research.
 JRAS : Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great
 Britain and Ireland.

- MAD, MAS : Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological
Department.
- MER : Madras Epigraphic Report
- NHIP : New History of Indian People, edited by
R.C.Majumdar and A.S.Altekar.
- PHAI : Political History of Ancient India
by H.C.Raychaudhuri (4th edition)
- R.T. : Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times by A.S.Altekar
Suc of the
- Sat . : Successors of the Śātavāhanas by D.C.Sircar.
- SII : South Indian Inscriptions.

CHAPTER I

THE LEGENDS OF CHĀLUKYA ORIGIN

The origin of the Chālukyas, like that of many other ruling families of ancient India, is shrouded in the mist of oblivion. No record of an early date cast a single ray to illuminate this topic. There are, however, several legends of a mythological character concerning the parentage of this race, which were apparently invented at a late stage of their history by court poets and panegyrists to fill up a vacuum. We give here an account of these not because they are interesting historically, but because the Chālukyas themselves believe, and wanted their contemporaries to believe them, and also because they afford an interesting study of the common practice in India, as also in several other countries, of inventing mythical ancestry for royal personages, and thus to invest them with a halo of antiquity, as well as perhaps sanctity.

The earliest version of these legends is found, as far as our present knowledge goes, in a copper plate charter of the Chālukya prince Rājāditya, dated 951 A.D.(1) It is said that from the lotus that sprang from the navel

(1) MAS. 1935. 117.

of Vishnu was born Viriñchi; his mind-born son was Angiras; his son Brihaspati; his son Bharadvāja; his son Drona; his son Droni (Asvatthāman) - from the water of the Ganges purified by mantras, and thrown out of the hollow of his hand, during the performance of the sandhyā^{the} was born Chaluki. His descendants were^{the} Chalukyas.

Rājāditya himself is styled both a descendant of the Drona-vaṁśa and Nenni-Chaluki (2)

Next in point of time is the brief statement, found in the Parbhani plates of Arikesarin III, that the Chālukyas belonged to the solar race (2a).

An altogether different story became current among the eastern Chālukyas, and is found for the first time in the Banastipundi grants of Vimalāditya dated 1018-19 A.D. (3). It runs as follows:-

"From the lotus-flower, (which arose) from the navel of the abode of Śrī, the supreme spirit, the great lord

(2) cf. the following version in the Bilhari Stone inscription of the Chedi kings:-

"Now, in the water, of which in the act of cursing he (Drona) had taken up a handful with his trembling hand, angrily intending to bring misery on Drupada for the insult (offered by him), there arose a man like victory incarnate; and from him proceeded the clan of the Chaulukyas". (EI.I.257 verse 33).

(2a) BISMJ.XIII.33ff.

(3) EI.VI.351ff; cf. also EI.IV.300ff; VI.334ff; IA.XIV.48ff; SII.I.No.39. The Ganjam branch also claims lunar origin (EI.V.32,36) Descended as they were from the house of Vengi they simply carried on the tradition current in the east.

Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu), there was born Svayambhū (Brahman), the creator of the world. From him there sprang a spiritual son called Atri. From the saint Atri there arose Soma, the founder of a race". The genealogy is then traced through a long succession of kings, belonging to the lunar race, mentioned in the Purāṇas, to Śatānīka and his son Udayana, apparently the famous king of Kausāmbi, the contemporary of the Buddha and Bimbisāra, king of Magadha. Our story, however, makes Udayana king of Ayodhyā, and recounts that when commencing with him fifty-nine emperors sat on the throne of Ayodhyā had passed away, a scion of this race went to the south, and his son eventually became the founder of the Chālukya kingship.

The records of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi contain still other versions of their origin, and a close examination of these reveal to a certain extent the different stages of myth-making in the west. Unlike their eastern cousins, the western Chālukyas, represented by the house of Kalyāṇi, do not seem to have claimed, at the very beginning of their history, any affiliation with the Puranic kings of the lunar race. A certain Satyāśraya, rather than Soma and his descendants, looms large in their early records. Taila II, the restorer, is styled in his own records as "the frontal ornament of the family of Satyāśraya" (Satyāśrayakulatilakah) (4), an epithet that

was also borne by his successors. The poet Ranna, who graced the court of the Chālukya king, tells us in his Gadāyuddha, which he wrote to extol the valour of Taila's son, prince Satyāśraya, that his hero was descended from Satyāśraya, also called Vishnuvardhana, who was the lord of Ayodhyāpura (5). Definite reference to the rule of the fifty-nine kings of the Chālukya race at Ayodhyā is found in the west for the first time in the Kauthem grants of Vikramāditya V, dated 1009 A.D. (6). The Balagamve inscription of Vikramāditya's brother Jayasimha, dated 1019 A.D. gives the following account:- "the kings of the Chālukya family governed the earth, which consisted of fifty-nine thrones, with the greatest happiness at the excellent city of Ayodhyāpura, and Satyāśraya, who was born in that race, and who was the lord of the lovely woman victory - ruled the whole world, so that he acquired the title of a universal monarch, and the family of Brāhmā (Brahmakula) was called the excellent Satyāśrayakula" (7). The family nomenclature Brahmakula seems to point to another direction in which our story was developing. It incidentally suggests that the western Chālukyas preferred

(5) IA.XL. 434.

(6) IA.XVI. 15ff.

(7) IA.V.17.

to regard themselves at this time as the descendants of the Divine Creator, rather than that of the Moon. In a record dated 1025-26 A.D. we get the following genealogy:- "the mind-born son of the god Brahmā was Svayambhu^{va} Manu; his son was Mānavya from whom came all those who belonged to the Mānavya gotra; Mānavya's son was Hārita; his son Pañchaśikhi-Hāriti; and his son was Chālukya, from whom sprang the race of the Chālukyas".(8) The same genealogy is also found in several subsequent records of the dynasty, the only difference being the mention of Māṇḍavya in the place of Mānavya (9). The writers of the period also seized the opportunity to give an etymology of the name Chālukya so as to introduce a supernatural element, already hinted at in the grant of Rājāditya, into the Kalyāṇi tradition. Thus for instance the Diggavi inscription of the time of Someśvara I relates that when Hāriti-Pañchaśikhi was engaged in sandhyā, out of the water in the hollow of his palm (chuluka) was born Chalokya (sic) (10). Bilhana, the court-poet of Someśvara's son Vikramāditya VI, records a story of the same nature

(8) Elliot. 28b; DKD.278n, 339.

(9) Nimbargi Inscription (Elliot.59); Nagai Inscription, (Hy.Ar.Se.No.8.pp.9,17); Muddagadavur Inscription (Elliot,294) Haveri Inscription (ib.422b) etc.

(10) Elliot,112.cf. also the Handarika inscription (ib.402; DKD 439); Harihar Inscription (Elliot.498; Rice,Mysore Inscriptions,p.67); Nimbargi Inscription (Elliot.445)

with much embellishment. "Bṛhmā was once engaged in sandhyā, when Indra came to him to complain of the growing godlessness on earth and begged him to put an end to it by creating a hero who would be a terror to the evil-doers. On hearing the request, the creator looked towards his chuluka, or water vessel, and from it sprang a handsome warrior fit to protect the three worlds. From him descended the Chālukyas, a race of heroes, among whom Hārīta was reckoned as the first progenitor and Māṇḍavya arose who humbled kings of the earth." The original seat of the Chālukyas, we are told, was at Ayodhyā (11). Some records again represent the Chālukyas as having sprang from the powerful arms of Brahmā (12), while there are others which simply state that the Chālukya race was descended from the mind-born (mānasa-
-sambhavar
bhava). (13)

The ever-widening volume of western traditions also absorbed within its cycle the myth of the lunar origin of the Chālukyas. In the present state of our knowledge we cannot say exactly when this took place. There is an inscription which purports to belong to the reign of

(11) Vikramāṅkacharita, ed. by Buhler, Introduction, 25-26; text, p. 3; EC.VII.Sk.123, dated 1159 A.D., where it is stated that the Chālukyas were born from the full water-jar in the shining left hand of Brahmā.

(12) EC.VII.sk.100, dated 1129 A.D.; Sk.108, dated 1164 A.D.

(13) IA.IV.205; EI.XVI.356; EC.VII.Sk.137.

Satyāśraya, son of Taila II, where it is claimed that he belonged to Soma-vamśa. But the record is a spurious one. (14) The Hirehadagalli inscription of Someśvara I, dated 1057 A.D., states that the mind-born son of the lotus-born (Brāhma) was Atri; from his beautiful eye sprang forth the Moon (Indu); his son was Budha; his son Purūravas; his son Pañchaśikhi-Hariti, and his descendants were the Chālukyas. This is the first undoubted reference to the western Chālukyas as Somavamśis as far as we know at present. (15) In the Ittagi and the Sudi inscriptions of the time of Vikramāditya VI the same story appears with further details. It is said that Budha had as his wife Ilā, who was the daughter of Ikshvāku, whose descent is traced through Vaivasvata-Manu from the Sun. Out of this union was born Purūravas, "an increaser of the lunar race". His son

(14) J.B.H.S., Sept. 1929, 209ff;

(15) SII. IX. I. No. 118. In the Tirumukkaṇḍal inscription of the Chola king Vira-Rājendra, dated in the sixth year of his reign, Someśvara is referred to as the Chālukya king who came from the race of the Moon (EI. XXI. 242). In the Gadag and the Kalige inscription of the time of Vikramāditya VI. We find the statement - "In the lineage of the Moon, who arose from the eye of Atri, the son of the lord Brāhman, the origin of all the world, there is the blest race of the Chālukyas" (Elliot. 235, 263; EI. XV. 350; IA. XXI. 167).

was Hārīti-Pañchāsīkhi. He had many sons, and with them as ancestors arose the Chālukya race. As the good king Satyāśraya was born in this race "the race of the Chālukyas was verily called the lineage of Satyāśraya" (16) The above account differs in many respects from the one that was current in the east. It is ^{also} worth noting how the writer tried to assimilate some of the important elements of the western traditions into one coherent story.

So far with regard to the various accounts of the origin of the Chālukyas as found in the records of the race. The question naturally arises as to what element of truth may underlie these Puranic-looking tales. Fleet rejected them as fabulous genealogies of no authenticity. R.S. Satyasraya, who has made a special study of the origin of the Chālukyas, is inclined to give credence to some of the versions that were current in the west. He believes, for example, that the claim of descent from Brahman, Manu, Māṇḍavya (or Mānavya), Hārīta and Pañchāsīkhi, found in western records, proves that the Chālukyas were Brahmins; that Hārīta and Pañchāsīkhi were both historical persons; that the former should be identified with the homonymous gotra-rishi among the Āngiras, and the latter with the famous Sāṅkhya philosopher Pañchāsīkha; and finally, that

(16) EI. XIII. 41ff; XV. 105f.

the Chālukyas belonged to the family of a gotra-rishi called Chuluka referred to in the Bārhaspatyābhidhāna, and probably also by Bodhāyana and Pāṇini. (17)

We admit our inability to agree with the above views, and regard the whole set of traditions cited above as purely legendary, useless for constructing sober history. The early Chālukyas, whether in the east or in the west, represented themselves in their records simply as Manavya-sagotras (belonging to the clan of the Mānavyas), and Hāritiputras ("descendant of an original ancestress of the Hārita gotra"). This statement, standing by itself, we think, cannot prove the Brahmin origin of the clan. Hiuen-Tsang, writing in the seventh century, represents Pulakesin II as a Kshatriya. (18) The name-endings of two of the earliest members of the Chālukya family, e.g. Jayasimha and Kirtivarman, also point to the same conclusion. Some of the above stories were invented, as has been pointed out by Fleet, in order to account for appellations the origin of which had been forgotten in the lapse of time, or as popular

(17) R.S. Satyasraya, Origin of the Chālukyas (1937), section V & VI. The evidence of two late manuscripts has also been adduced to support the theory of the Brahmin origin of the Chālukyas.

(18) Watters, II. p. 239.

etymology of family names. (19) The persons called Mānavya or Māṇḍavya and Hārīti have been undoubtedly brought into the genealogical scheme in order to explain the phrases Mānavya-sagotra and Hārītiputra found in early records. Why the name of Pañchāsikhi is mentioned at all seems to us a riddle. Attention may be drawn in this connection to a piece of information contained in the Ittagi and Sudi inscriptions of 1112-3 A.D. (20) It is said that the Chālukya race wore as its crest a five-fold tuft (chūdapañchaka-maṇḍalam). The evidence is late, but if the practice belonged to an earlier age, then this might go to explain our problem. The story of Satyāśraya of Ayodhya seems to have its foundation in some vague memory of the achievements of Pulakesin II, the most stately figure among the early Chālukyas, who is referred to simply as Satyāśraya in certain records of his own time (21), and under that name also finds prominent mention in many inscriptions of the eastern branch. The early Chālukyas almost certainly did not lay claim to lunar origin. This is borne out by a passage which occurs in the Samangarh

(19) DKD. 338-40

(20) EI, XIII.42f; XV.106.

(21) e.g. Hyderabad Plates (IA.VI.72f); Chiplun Plates (EI.III.50f).

Copper Plates of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Dantidurga (22), and is repeated in the Bhandak Plates of his successor Krishna I (23). It is stated in these two records that the queen of Indra II and mother of Dantidurga was a Chālukyan princess who was a descendant of the lunar race on her mother's side, the implication undoubtedly being that her father could not lay claim to any such connection. The myth of the lunar origin was as yet in the womb of the future.

It remains now to examine the authenticity of the claim put forward in the early records of the Chālukyas that they were Mānavya-sagotras and Hāritīputras. It is interesting to note that similar claims are made on behalf of the Chātū-Śātakarnis and the Kadambas, who ruled, one after the other, over the Kuntala country before the latter were despoiled of their regal fortune by the Chālukyas. It seems to us that the claim of the Kadambas and the Chālukyas in this respect has no solid foundation, and both the families simply continued a local tradition which became deep-rooted in the time of the Chātū-Śātakarnis. (24) The indebtedness of the Chālukyas to the Kadambas specially, is perhaps indicated by the occurrence in the records of the

(22) I.A.XI.112:

(23) EI.XIV.124.

(24) The authenticity of the claim of the Kadambas in this respect has been discussed by D.C.Sircar in his *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p.225.

former of the entire statement Svāmi-Mahāsena-Mātrigan-ābhishiktānām Mānavya-sagotrānām, Haritiputrānām found in the inscriptions of the latter. The Badami inscription of Pulakesinī, the earliest record of the Chālukya family, does not contain any such description at all. (25) The evidence of Rājāditya's plates, where the descent of the Chālukyas is traced from Droni, and the prince is called a descendant of the Drona-vamśa, perhaps suggests that this section of the Chālukyas at least believed that they were Bharadvājas. (26)

The records of the Chālukyas, therefore, do not help us to determine their origin. Towards the close of the last and the early decades of the present century it was believed by some scholars that the Chālukyas were related to the great horde of the Gurjaras, who seem to have poured into India along with, or soon after, the Huns during the period of the disruption of the Gupta empire (27). The Gurjaras began to play an increasingly important part in the history of India from the close of the sixth century A.D. and there is evidence to suggest that at least some of the Rājput clans of the post-Gupta period, notably the Pratihāras are racially connected with them. The theory of the Gurjara origin of the Chālukyas rests mainly upon two assumptions,

(25) Digest of the Annual Report on Kannada Research, 1940-4., p.6ff.

(26) see supra p.1.

(27) BG.I.I.468; IX.485ff; JBBRAS.XXI.425ff; IA.XI.24,29.

(i) that the Chālukyas and the Chaulukyas or Solankis were off-shoots of the same clan; and

(ii) that as the Chaulukyas were possibly of the Gurjara stock, the Chālukyas also must have been so.

As to the first point, the close similarity of the two names, and the fact that there actually existed many variants of the cognomen Chālukya, as also different branches of the family unconnected with each other, raise a strong presumption in favour of the theory that the Chālukyas and the Chaulukyas were branches of the same family. Bilhana regarded the two names as interchangeable.
(28)

As to the second point, the theory of the Gurjara origin of the Chaulukyas was first adumbrated by Campbell in the pages of the Bombay Gazetteer. (29) But whatever validity the arguments he advanced in support of his view might have had in his days, they can no longer be regarded

(28) IA. XL. 24. The family name Śalukika, regarded as a variant of the word Chālukya, applied to Buddhavaraha in an inscription of 813 A.D. (EI. III. 54f) may have been an earlier form of the designation Chaulukika applied to Mūlarāja of Anahilapāṭaka. For the variant Chulukya for Chaulukya in late inscription see the Abu Inscription of Tejahpala (EI. VIII. 213, 219).

Buhler thinks that the Chaulukyas of Gujarat came in all probability from the north. This view is based on the evidence of the Gujarat chronicles, which state that the ancestors of Mūlarāja came from Kalyāṇakataṭaka in Kanauja. In this connection the following facts may be noted:— (continue)
(29) IX. I. 485ff. cf also BG. I. I. 463n.

as quite convincing. The very lateness of the evidences

(continued) The Surat grants of Trilochanapāla, dated 1050 A.D., tell us that "once upon a time there arose a man, a jewel of a king, from the ocean of his (Brahmā's) chuluka... He having saluted him said, 'Oh, what shall I do, Oh, Lord?' And to him the well-pleased creator replied on the matter of fulfilment of the object. 'Oh, thou Chaulukya, king of kings, marrying a princess of the Rāshtrakūṭas of Kānyakubja, bless thou (the world) with off-spring obtained of her". (IA.XII. 201ff).

We seem to have here the germ of the tradition referred to by Gujrat chroniclers. It is however worth noting that the inscription only refers to a matrimonial connection between the Rāshtrakūṭas of Kanauj and the Chaulukyas, and in no way suggests the establishment of the rule of the latter in that city. On the other hand, when the Gujrat chroniclers wrote the city of Kalyāni figured prominently in the history of the Chālukyas, and in the absence of authentic tradition they may have imagined that all the branches of the Chālukyas, including the Chaulukyas, originated from that famous capital. It seems to us that the chroniclers in order to reconcile a vague tradition with what they actually knew about the antiquity of the Chālukya rule in the Deccan, invented the existence of a city called Kalyānakataka in Kanauj and made the ancestors of Mūlarāja come thence. The close relationship between the Rāshtrakūṭas and the family of Trilochanapāla is further illustrated by the fact that the epigraph of the prince refers to a subordinate line of the Rāshtrakūṭas. It may also be noted in this connection that the family name in the Surat Plates of Kirtiraja is Chaulukya and not Chālukya (K.B.Pathak Commemoration Volume, p.293ff, plate I, line 18).

Budaun inscription of Lakhanapāla (EI.I.61 ff) proves the existence of Rāshtrakūṭa rule in the vicinity of Kanauj. An inscription of the 12th-13th century refers to a Kānyakubja-desodbhūṭayā Rāshta (tra) kūṭa-vamśa-pradīpa (EI.XXIII.188).

adduced, together with the reasonable doubt that may be entertained with regard to the correctness of some of them, takes away much force from their probative value. Even the agni-kula theory, which is supposed to indicate the common origin of the Chaulukyas, Chāhamānas, Paramāras and Pratihāras has now been proved to be a myth - it being unknown in its present form before the sixteenth century. (30) D.R.Bhāndarkar points out that Gurjara-maṇḍala of Gujarat came to be so-called after the establishment of the Chaulukya rule in that region. This suggests that the Chaulukyas were Gurjaras. (31) But in this case we have to prove that Mūlarāja came at the head of a horde of Gurjaras, and imposed the name of the ruling tribe upon the conquered country, for we are unaware of an instance of a kingdom known only after the racial affiliation of a ruling house. So far as we know Mūlarāja was simply an usurper. The circumstances under which Gujarat got its present name are still unknown to us. V.A.Smith thinks

(30) JBBRAS.XXV.1ff; ABORI.XVI.158f; Satyasraya, Origin of the Chālukyas, see II.

(31) JBBRAS.XXI.425; IA.XL.24,29.

that there are reasons for believing that the Chālukyas (sic) or Solankis were connected with the Chāpas, and so with the foreign Gurjara tribe of which the Chāpas were a branch. Further, the name Pulakesin occurs in a Chāpa genealogy, which is the only instance known to Fleet of its occurrence outside the Chālukya family. This fact also supports the view that the Solankis or Chālukyas were connected with the Gurjaras. (32) We should however note that tradition connects the Chāpas with the Chaulukyas through a female member belonging to the former clan. This does not necessarily prove that Chaulukyas belonged to the same racial stock as the Chāpas. For instance, we know that a Guhilot prince of Mewar married into the Huna family (33) This does not by itself make the Guhilots come from the Huna race. Secondly, the Gurjara origin of the Chāpas itself has not been proved satisfactorily as yet. Regarding the second argument of Smith, attention may be drawn to the fact that all mention of the name Pulakesin, excepting the one of the Chāpa family, are found in inscriptions of South India, a fact which rather connects the Chālukyas with the people of the south than with any clan of north India. The Gurjara origin of the Chālukyas, can hardly be regarded as

(32) EHI. 4th. ed. p. 440 and note.

(33) IAXXIX. 191.

established.

There are indeed a few facts which bring the Chālukyas into special association with south India. (34) Firstly, the dynastic name Chālukya, Chalikya or Chalukya, or for the matter any other variants of it, found in the earliest records of the race, cannot be derived from any Sanskrit word. It seems to have come from some Dravidian stem. Secondly, personal names of some members of the royal family, e.g., Pulakesin, Ereyā,⁽³⁵⁾ Ereyitiyadigal (36) Ambērā⁽³⁷⁾ Kokuli-Vikramāditya (38), etc., found in early Chālukya records, point to their south Indian origin. Finally, the rise of the family in the Kanarese area, and the use of the Kanarese tongue in several early epigraphs of the race, are also of considerable significance in this connection. In view of all these facts we are inclined to think that the Chalukyas belonged to the great Dravidian stock of the

(34) Attention to these was first drawn by R.S.Panchamukhi in the Karnataka Historical Review, V.I. (Jan.1938), pp.1ff.

(35) Lakshmeshwar Inscription (IA.VII.110)

(36) SII.IX.I.No.46.

(37) IA.VIII.89,96.

(38) Sanjan Plates of Buddha-varasa, EI.XIV.144f.

Indian Peninsula. (39)

(39) S.K.Aiyangar makes the following observation in this connection:- "Feudatory dynasties placed in rule over the less hospitable region of the Tamil land went by the name generally Vēlpula Arasar or Salukki Vēnder. They were given the flag of boar indicative of the nature of the territory over which they ruled and the character of that rule. It is a family of chieftains like this probably that ultimately raised themselves to a position of higher dignity that became the Chālukyas of later period". (Introduction to R.Gopalan's History of the Pallavas, p. XXVI).

Some scholars are inclined to identify the Chālukyas with the people called the Sulikas (variants - Chulika, Chūdika, Chalika, Saulika etc.). (PHAL. 4th. ed. p. 509 and note: Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, XXI. p. 1ff). One branch of this race lived in the north-west of India, and another in the south. The latter is associated in the Purānas with the Andhras, Sakas and Pūṣṇindas, (Pargiter, Dynasties of the Kali Age, p2). Brihatsamhitā, Chap. XIV. verses 8 and 9 refer to the Sulikas along with the Vidarbhas, Andhras and Chedis. In Chap. IX, verse 15 of the same work they are placed between Aparāntya (sic) and Vanavāsi. The theory of the identity of the Chālukyas and the Sulikas however has not received any general acceptance.

C.V.Vaidya thinks that the Chālukyas came originally from the Maratha country, and were therefore "Maharattis". But his arguments are hardly convincing. The learned scholar also believes that the Chālukyas and the Kadambas belonged to the same racial stock, and they could have therefore no marriage relations between them (History of Mediaeval and Hindu India, I. pp. 258, 266). But note that Akkādevi, sister of Jayasimha II, and Mailaladevi, daughter of Vikramāditya VI, were given in marriage to Kadamba princes

It will not be out of place to refer here to the many variants of the name Chalukya that are met with in inscriptions. Some of these have been noted by Fleet in his *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*. (40) The earliest known form of the family name is Chalikyā found in the Badami Fort inscription of Pulakesin I. (41) Then we find the variants Chalukya (42) and Chalkya which occur in the inscriptions of Kirtivarman I. In the time of Maṅgaleśa the forms Chalikkya (43), Chalikya and Chālikya (44) were current. In the records of Pulakesin II and his successors the forms most widely used were Chalukya and Chalūkya (45); the Karnul plates of Vikramāditya I of years 3 and 10 have Chalekya and Chālikya respectively. (46) The form Chālukya together with Chalikya, occurs in the Godval and Savanura plates of Vikramāditya I, and the Vakkalerū and Kendur Plates of Kirtivarman II. (47) The variants Chalukya, Chhaluki or Chuluki are found in the Pattadakal inscription of the latter (48)

(40) p. 336n. see also JAHRS II. 248n.

(41) Digest of the Annual Report on Kannada Research, 1940-41 p. 6ff.

(42) Godachi Plates (JUB. 4 (Jan. 1937), p. 165.

(43) Corrected by Fleet in his own copy of IA. XIX. p. 17. now in the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

(44) Nerur Plates (IA. VII. 161) Fleet regards the sign for a as an engraver's mistake.

(45) EI. III. 51, line 2.

(46) JBBRAS. XVI. p. 235, and Plate I, line 5 facing p. 234.

(47) EI. X. 104 line 36 and plate; BISMJ. XXI. p. 78, line 33. EI. V. 200, EI. IX. 200. (48) EI. III. p. 4 and note 12.

In the Nausari grant of Avanijanāśraya Pulakesin the family name appears as Chalukki. In the early records of the eastern branch the most usual form is Chalukya. The variant Chālukya occurs in the Peddavegi inscription of Jayasimha I. (49) The Penukaparu grant of Jayasimha II has Chalikya. (50) In the Ipur grant of Vishnuvardhana III we find Chhālukya. (51) From the time of Vishnuvardhana IV the use of the form Chālukya becomes almost a regular feature. In the Satalur plates of Vijayāditya III, Bhima, a scion of the family is styled a Saluka. (52) The Kalyāṇi branch mostly ^{favoured} ~~borrowed~~ the form Chālukya or Chālukya, but variants like Chālukya, Chalukya, Chalkya, Chalki, Chaliki, Chaluki and Salki(?) were not unknown. (53) Buddhavarasa, regarded as a member of the race, is described as a Śalukika. (54) In Rāshtrakūṭa inscriptions the family name is usually referred to as Chālukya, but the form Chulukya is found in a record of Kṛishṇa I. (55) In Chola epigraphs occur such variants as Salki, Chalki, Śalukki and Chalukki. (56) A record of Gaṅga Vajrahasta (palaeographically assigned to the eleventh century) refers to a person called Naggavi-Saluki, who has

(49) EI.XIX.259 line 5 and plate.

(50) EI.XVIII.315.

(51) EI.XVIII.59.

(52) JAHS.V.113.

(53) EI.IV.207, 214, V.16, 20f; XII 332; XV.156; XVI.38, 41, EI.XI.Dg.19, etc.

(54) EI.III.54; V.171n.

(55) EI.XIV.124.

(56) EI.XI.293, 343; XXI.231-33; XXV.263, etc.

been taken to be a member of the Chalukya race. (57)

(57) EI.III, 221 and note.

CHAPTER II

THE RISE OF THE CHĀLUKYAS

1. Jayasimha and Ranarāga

The inscriptions of the early Chālukyas do not throw any light on the circumstances that attended the foundation of their rule in the south. Two of these records, viz., the Mahākūṭa inscription of the time of Kirtivarman I and the Aihole inscription of the time of Pulakeśin II, look upon Jayasimha as the first prince who raised his family to a position of distinction. But both contain only vague praise about him. The former record describes Jayasimha as "the chief of the Favourites" (Vallabhendra) who was like the god Maghavan, was possessed of virtuous qualities, and who in affluence resembled Vaisravana. (1) The latter record tells us that when many members of the Chālukya race had passed away, Jayasimha-Vallabha in battle, by his bravery, made Fortune his own. (2) But these are only vague statements, insufficient to form any adequate idea about the contributions of the first Chālukya king.

Where history is blank its place is not unoften filled up with traditions, or even fictitious tales; and thus, at a later age, came into circulation among the

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(1) IA.XIX.16,18.

(2) EI.VI.4,8.

Chālukyas, both in the west as well as in the east, several stories of a rather romantic character which attempted to tell how exactly their rule began in the Deccan. The western version is found in a more or less finished form, in the Kauthemā Plates of Vikramāditya V (1009 A.D.). (3) It is said that in the Chālukya family were gem-like kings bearing the distinctive names Vish-nuwardhana, Viṣṇuāditya and the like, who were "the asylum of the universe" (samasta-bhuvanāśraya) and "the refuge of all people" (sarvalokāśraya). Fifty-nine kings of this race, beginning with Satyāśraya, ruled at Ayodhyā. Then sixteen ruled in the Deccan. Then for a time the fortune of the Chālukyas suffered an eclipse, "being impeded by wicked people, and also being interrupted by several other men of hostile race". Finally, Jayasimha-vallabha, - having conquered the Rāshtrakūṭa Indra, son of Kṛishṇa, who was possessed of an army of eight-hundred elephants, and having completely destroyed five hundred kings - once again restored the royal fortune of his family. The fight of the Chālukya prince with the Rāshtrakūṭa ruler is also alluded to by Ranna, who flourished a generation earlier. (4) A confused version of the above account is found in the Diggavi inscription of the time of Someśvara I and is repeated in

(3) IA. XVI. p. 17, 21.

(4) IA. XL. 43-44; Gadāyuddha, II. prose passage following verse 7.

the Handarike inscription of Vikramāditya VI. (5)

It makes Vishnuvardhana-Vijayāditya into one person (6) and places him at the head of the genealogy. Then came fifty-nine kings, with Satyāśraya at the top, who ruled at Ayodhyā; they were followed by few others, then came Jayasimha and then the sixteen monarchs. Bilhana, in his *Vikramānandadevacharita*, repeats the tradition that the original seat of the Chālukyas was at Ayodhyā, and says that several members of the family went to the south where they extended their sway as far as Nāgarakhaṇḍa (north-western part of Mysore). Some kings even penetrated into the Chola country up to the southern ocean. (7)

The eastern version, of the rise of the Chālukyas, found in the Ranastipundi grant of Vimalāditya, (8) states that when fifty-nine kings of the Chālukya race, with Udayana at their head, had passed away, Vijayāditya I, a scion of the family, went to the Deccan in search of conquest. He attacked Trilochana Pallava, but was himself killed. His queen got shelter with an ascetic called Vishnubhatta Somayajin, and gave birth to a posthumous child, who was named Vishnuvardhana. When he grew up he learnt all about the events that preceded his birth. He

(5) Elliot, S.I.I.I., pp.112ff; 402ff.

(6) cf: Vishnuvardhana-vijayāditya, son of Somesvara I (D.K.D. 440), J.R.A.S. 1930, p.934.

(7) sarga I, verses 63-65.

(8) E.9. VI.351ff.

then went to worship Gaurī on the Chālukya mountain and also appeased Kumāra, Nārāyaṇa and the assembly of Divine Mothers. Thereafter he assumed the various insignia of sovereignty belonging to his family. He conquered the Kadambas, the Gangas and other princes and ruled over the whole of the Deccan between the Narmadā and Adam's Bridge. His son, by a ^{queen} ~~queen~~ of the Pallava race, was Vijayāditya (II). The latter's son was Pulakeśin (I)--Vallabha.

Fleet refused to admit the historicity of any of the accounts cited above. Referring to the Kanthem Plates version that Jayasimha re-established the Chālukya authority, after a period of obscurity, by overthrowing a Rāshtrakūṭa prince, he observed that the statement "is explained by events which occurred at the time when Rāshtrakūṭa sovereignty was passing into the hands of the later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi". As regards the eastern version his comment was that "a certain amount of foundation (for it) may be derived from the fact that, from the time of Pulakesin II onwards, the western Chālukyas were constantly at war with the Pallavas, who were their most powerful and inveterate enemies; coupled with a tradition of the later Kadambas, that the founder of the Kādamba family was a certain Trinetra or Trilochana". (9)

Many scholars who wrote after Fleet concurred with his views. But there are a few exceptions. N. Venkata Ramanayya (10), for example, thinks that the story of the fight between Trilochana Pallava and Chālukya Vijayāditya (I) may be regarded as true. He further indentifies Vishnuvardhana, Vijayāditya (II) and Pulakesin(I) with Jayasimha, Ranarāga and Pulakesin I of the Badami records respectively. Vijayāditya (I), according to him, was an adventurer who threatened to raise trouble for the Pallavas in the Kuntala country, which was a ~~p~~rief of their empire, and therefore had to be suppressed. In course of a review (11) of the opinions of the above mentioned scholar Dr. Barnett observes that it is permissible to conjecture the identifi^{ication} of Jayasimha with Vishnuvardhana, and Vijayāditya (II) with Ranarāga (the last mentioned designation being essentially a ~~G~~iruda and not a proper name). He also points out in this connection that the western tradition placed the names of Vishnuvardhana and Vijayāditya at the head of the pedigree, but was doubtful as to their proper place; (11) that it seems very reasonable to suppose that the eastern and the western account supplement one another, and that the disastrous end of

(10) Trilochana Pallava and Kārikala Chola, N. Venkata Ramanayya (Vavilla Press, 1922); P. T. Srinivas Ayengar, History of the Tamils (1929), p. 383ff.
 (11) J. R. A. S., 1930, p. 934.

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Vijayāditya (I) and the temporary ruin of his realm was a chapter, perhaps the last chapter, in the period of obscuration which the western records describe as having occurred shortly before the rise of Jayasimha; and finally that "the eastern version seem to give a plausible explanation of the rise of Vishnuvardhana by his successes over the Kadambas and Gangas, for whom western tradition in the tenth century by natural anachronism substituted the Rattas".

We should however note that the historicity of Trilochana Pallava is not altogether beyond doubt. His name is not found in any genuine list of early Pallava genealogy. So far as we know, he is mentioned for the first time in a record of the tenth century. In the period that followed, a cluster of legends gradually grew around him, and he appeared on the stage of history with all the glory and glamour of an epic hero. (12) It is at this point that the story of his triumph over Chālukya Vijayāditya entered into the eastern records. This move seems to have been influenced, as Fleet thought, by some vague tradition of the deadly struggle between the early Chālukyas^{and} & Pallavas. It is interesting to note that the story of Vijayāditya's death at the hand of the Pallava king, followed by a period of obscuration of the Chālukya family and its ultimate restoration by Vishnuvardhana, is paralleled by the known historical events of the defeat of Pulakesin II in a struggle with the Pallavas, the period of obscuration that followed

(12) JBHS. IV. I. pp. 80-86; N.K. Sastri, Colas, I. 44; G.M. Moraes, Kadamba-Kula, p. 8.

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his death, and the ultimate restoration of the Chālukya power by Vikramāditya I. Vishnuvardhana and Vijayāditya were also very probably fictitious persons. The appearance of their names in the later genealogical lists, both in the west as well as in the east, however, demands an explanation. Ranna says that Satyāśraya (of Ayodhyā) was also known as Vishnuvardhana (13), but later records apparently distinguished between the two. The name of Vijayāditya reminds us of the homonymous early Chālukya prince from whom the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi traced their descent, and he may have found a special mention at the beginning of the dynastic list. It should also be remembered that by the time when these records were composed five Vishnuvardhanas and six Vijayādityas had sat on the eastern Chālukya throne. The titles Samasta-Chūvanāśraya and Sarvalokāśraya were frequently applied to the eastern Chālukya rulers from the time of Jayasimha I, son of Kubja-Vishnuvardhana. (14) These facts may have

(13) IA.XL.43-44. *Saṁyuddha*, p.14. (Iyengar's edition).

(14) The title Samasta-Chūvanāśraya is first mentioned in the west in connection with Vijayāditya, dated 622/c.700 A.D. (IA.IX.126f). In the east the title is found applied to Vishnuvardhana III, Vijayāditya II, Vijayāditya III, Amma II and Bādapa. The title Sarvalokāśraya, as far as we know, is found applied for the first time to Jayasimha, son of Kubja-vishnuvardhana; among his successors it was assumed by Vishnuvardhana II, Jayasimha II, Vijayāditya I, Vishnuvardhana V, Chālukya-Bhīma, Vijayāditya IV, Amma I, Chālukya Bhīma II, and Vimalāditya.

directly or indirectly influenced the statement found in the western records that in the Chālukya family were born kings who had the distinctive appellations of Vishnuvardhana and Vijayāditya, who were Samastāhuvanāśraya and Sarvalokāśrya.

As to why the names of two Vijayādityas and of a Vishnuvardhana inbetween them should at all appear at the head of the historical portion of the eastern Chālukya genealogy we may note the following facts. Only one early eastern Chālukya record—and that of the time of the founder Kubja-Vishnuvardhana—refers to the father of Pulakesin I (Ranavikrama), and mentions him under the name Ranarāga. (15) Two records only (one of the time of Jayasinha I, and other of Vishnuvardhana II) begin the genealogy with Kirtivarman I. (16) From the time of Vijayāditya III (latter half of the ninth century) we find the practice of recording a long genealogy beginning with Kubja-Vishnuvardhana. (17) Then in the early years of the eleventh century was super-added the Purāṇic genealogy together with the names of Vijayāditya I, Vishnuvardhana, Vijayāditya II, Pulakesin I and Kirtivarman. It seems that all genuine tradition of kings before Pulakesin I was by this time lost in the east; and the chroniclers, noticing so many Vijayādityas and Vishnuvardhanas coming one after the other, probably thought that a similar order of succession also must have preceded Pulakesin I. This is the only explanation that suggests itself to us for the innovation introduced.....

(15) EI. IX. 317f.

(16) EI. XIX. 258f; IA. VII. 191f.

(17) JAHS. V. 101ff.

in the time of Vimalāditya.

Finally we should note that the discovery of two new copper plate grants since Fleet wrote has placed the early history of ^KRāshtrakūṭa rule in the Deccan in a new light. One of these, found at Pandurangapalli (Kolhapur state) and paleographically referable to the fifth-sixth century, mentions one Mānāṅka, his son Devarāja and his son Avidheya. (18) The first two princes have been identified with their name-sakes in the Undivātikā grant (find-spot unknown, paleographically assigned by some to the fifth-sixth and by others to the sixth-seventh centuries), which gives the following genealogy:- Rāshtrakūṭa Mānāṅka, his son Devarāja, his son Bhavishya, and his son Abhimanyu. (19) Both the records have lion seals. The Pandurangapalli grant states that Mānāṅka conquered Āsmaka and Vidarbha and ruled over the glorious Kuntala (or according to another interpretation chastised the Kuntalas). The places granted by the record have been located by Mirashi in the Satara district and the adjoining region. (20) The places mentioned in the Undivātikā grant were located by Fleet in Malwa, and it was previously thought that Mānāṅka and his successors ruled somewhere in central India. But here again

(18) MAS.1929.pp. 197ff; ABORI, XXIV.49ff; XXV.36ff; IHQ.XXII.p.233.

(19) EI.VIII.163ff; IA.XVIII.233; Dubreuil, Ancient History of the Deccan, p.111; ABORI.XXV.39.

(20) ABORI.XXV.40ff.

Mirashi ^{shows} states that some of the localities mentioned in the ~~letter~~ grant are also found in the Satara district and its neighbourhood. (21) Another set of copper plate grant, dated in an unknown era, and paleographically referable to the sixth-seventh century, mentions one Dejjā-Mahārāja of the Rāshtrakūṭa family, and its find-spot suggests that he probably ruled somewhere in the neighbourhood of Gokak in the Belgaum district. (22) These records, therefore, go to prove that between the fifth and the seventh century Rāshtrakūṭa rule actually existed in or near the area where the Chālukyas first established their sway. In view of this the Kalyāṇi tradition that Jayasīṃha I came into conflict with the Rāshtrakūṭas cannot be lightly brushed aside. We may, therefore, arrive at the following tentative conclusion, in the present state of our knowledge:--

(1) The western version of the rise of the Chālukyas seems to be more reliable than its eastern counter-part; and (2) Jayasīṃha I very probably laid the foundation of the rule of his house by defeating the Rāshtrakūṭas, who are now known to have held sway over the Satara and Belgaum districts and some other adjoining parts. This military achievement is probably referred to by Ravikīrti when he

(21) *ib.* 42.

(22) EI. XXI. 289ff.

says that "Jayasimha-Vallabha in battle made fortune his own". (23)

Calculating backward from the known date of his grandson we may assign the beginning of Jayasimha's career at the very opening of the sixth century A.D. Dubreuil puts the interesting question:- "was Jayasimha Chālukya identical with his name-sake who was the commandant of Harivatsakotta mentioned in the Undivātika plates of Abhimanyu? (24) _____

(23) Late tradition, as has been noted above, would lead us to believe that princes of the Chālukya family exercised regal authority in the Deccan even before Jayasimha. But no reliable evidence in support of this is forthcoming.

An Ajanta inscription tells us that the Vākātaka king Harishena, who very probably flourished at the close of the fifth century A.D., conquered Kuntala, Avanti, Kalinga, Kosala, Trikūṭa, Lāṭa and Andhra. (HY. Arch. se. No. 14). His expedition into the western Deccan, in course of which he went up to Kuntala, must have created a certain amount of political confusion in that region, and this may have facilitated the rise of Jayasimha.

(24) Ancient History of the Deccan, p. 111.

Fleet thinks that Jayasimha and his son Ranaraga were officers of the Kadambas (DKD. 343). But there is no clear proof for this.

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One actually feels tempted to identify the two persons, but we should await further confirmation of this.

Jayasinha was succeeded by Ranarāga. Ranna styles him as Rana-Rāma and Ranarāgasinha, (25) and the Aihole inscription gives him the epithet Jagadekanātha. The Mahākūṭa inscription says that he inherited the virtuous qualities, heroism and affluence of his father, and was also endowed with brilliance, energy, valour, memory, intellect, splendour, polity and refinement. His fondness for war is alluded to in some records, but no specific exploit of his is known. According to the Kauthen plates he delighted in worshipping the auspicious feet of Hara.

(25) Sources of Karnataka History, I. p. 131, Gadāyuddha, p. 15.

II. Pulakesin I.

Ranarāga's son and successor, described as the dear son of his father (priyatanayah), was Pulakesin I. Eulogy bestowed on him in the records of his successors suggests that he was an unusually gifted man who combined in his person the astuteness of a statesman, the wide learning of a deep scholar and the piety of a religionist. Endowed with the three elements of power (śaktitraya-sampannah), in political wisdom, he is said to have equalled Brihaspaté, the councillor of the gods. He was well-versed in the code of Manu, Purāṇas, Rāmāyana, Bhārata and Itihāsa. Not the least of his virtues were his truthfulness, observance of promises made (satya-vāg-avisamvādakah), regard for the established rules of conduct (dharma-ratabuddhiḥ), and readiness to listen to the advice of the elders (vṛiddhopadeśagrāhī). We should add to these the war-like qualities of a successful soldier to which the king's achievements, as well as the epithet Raṇavikrama, bear witness. The Mahākūṭa inscription described Pulakesin I as an upholder of the Brahmanical religion (Brāhmaṇyam). The king's zeal for his faith found expression not only in the celebration of a horse sacrifice, but also in the performance of such vedic rituals as agnistoma, agnichayana, vājapeya, Bahusuvarna, paṇḍarika and the great gift of

Hiranyagarbha. (26) He was very probably a worshipper of Śiva. (26a)

(26) The above sketch has been given on the basis of information supplied by the Badami Fort inscription of Pulakesin I, Goodchi and Mahakuta inscriptions of the time of Kirtivarman I, Nerur Plates of Mangalesa, Hyderabad Plates and Aihole inscriptions of the time of Pulakesin II and the Satara Plates of Vishnuvardhana.

For the exact significance of the epithet Hiranyagarohasambhuta see D.C. Sircar, Successors of the Satavahanas, p.50ff.

(26a) cf. the concluding part of the Mahakuta inscription where Makutesvaranatha (i.e. Śiva) is called the sva-deva of Pulakesin I and Kirtivarman I.

Pulakesin I was the first king of his family to extend its power and prestige to a considerable extent. This he did by capturing Vātāpi, probably from the Kadambas of Banavāsi, who seem to have held the predominant position in the Karnāṭaka region about this time (27). Vātāpi, modern Badami in the Bijapur districts, is situated at the mouth of a ravine between two rocky hills on its north and south, and is admirably suited for a defensive work. Its strength and its proximity to Aihole, Banasankari, Mahākūṭa and Pattadakal, all of them noted for their sanctity, combined to make Badami a likely site for an early capital (28). This fact was not lost upon Pulakesin, who erected a fort there, and seems to have made the place his capital (29). Ranna says.

(27) DKD. 344.

(28) Bombay Gazetteer, XXIII.561.

(29) The fact of Pulakesin I's conquest of Vātāpi was for a long time known only from the Aihole inscription of Pulakesin II and Ranna's Gadāyuddha (cf. Sources of the Karnataka History, I.p.131). But recently an inscription of Pulakesin I himself has been discovered at the Badami Fort (Digest of the Annual Report of the Kannada Research, 1940-41 pp.6ff). It is dated in S.465, corresponding to 541 A.D. The inscription reads as follows:-

śvasti (11) śakavarshēshu Chatuś-śaṣṭēṣu pañcha-shaṣṭi yutēshu
asvamedhādi-yajñānām yajvā śrauta-vidhānataḥ (I)

Hiranyagarbha-sambhūtaś = Chalikyō Vallabhēśvarah (11)

dharādharēndra-Vātāpim = ajeyam- bhūtayebhuyah (?śdbhutaḥ) (1)

adhastād = upariśtāch = cha durggam ētaḥ achikarat (11)

I am indebted to Professor H.C.Ray Chaudhuri for kindly drawing my attention to this inscription.

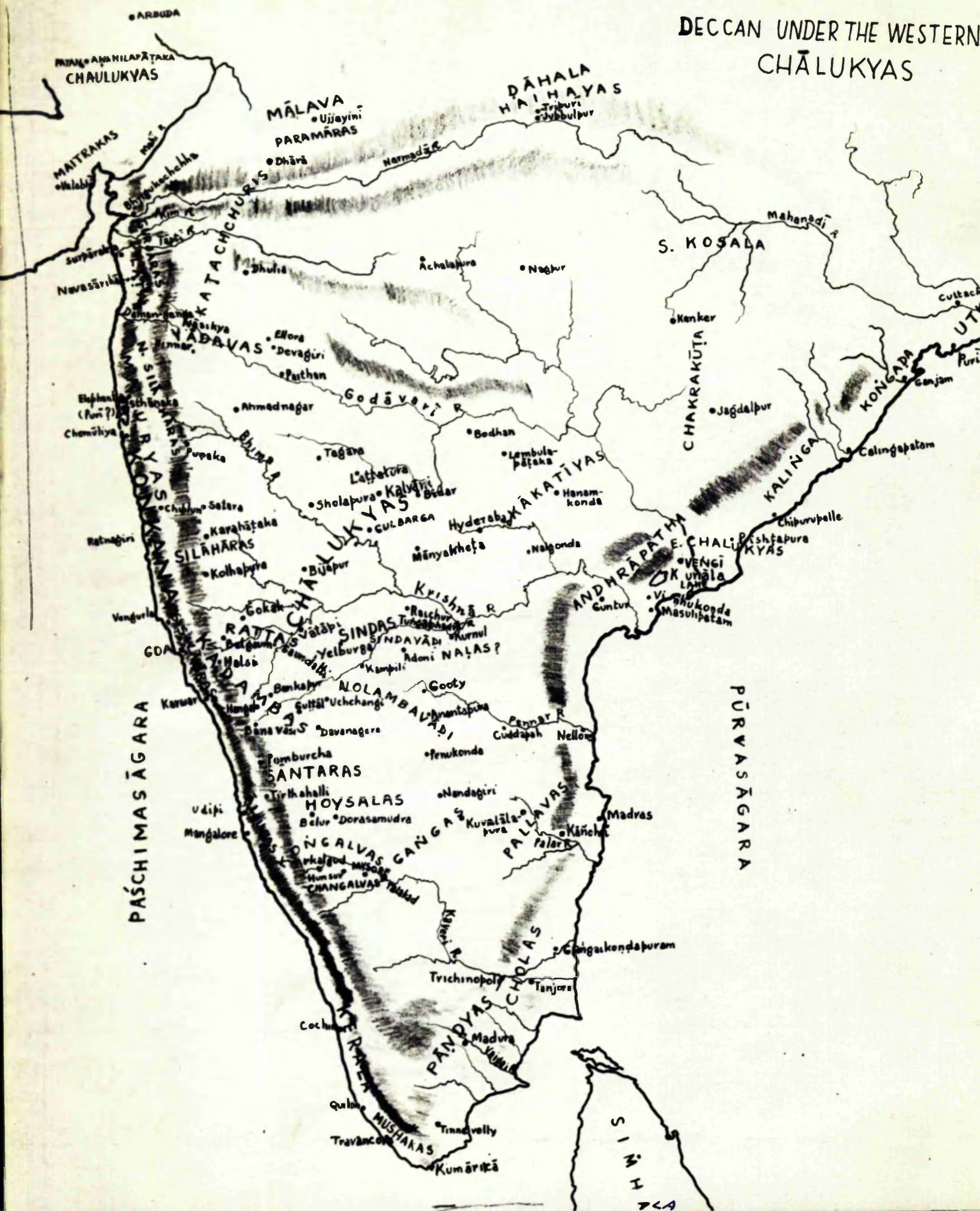
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that Pulakesin's influence also extended over the neighbouring peninsulas (dvipāntara-prakāṣa-prabhāvanum) (30) All these achievements were considered sufficient by the King to assume the title of Mahārāja, which indicated sovereign authority at this time, and to celebrate the horse sacrifice, undoubtedly to proclaim to the world the altered status of the Chālukyan kingship. If the Kautham Plates are to be believed, the king showed his liberality on the occasion by bestowing two thousand villages on the priests who took part in the ceremony. (31)

P Pulakesin I married Durlabhadevi of the Batpura family. She is praised for her high qualities befitting a devoted wife, and her intensely religious disposition. (32) The successes of the king, alike in peace and war, must have endeared him to his subjects, and in the Nerur plates of his son Maṅgaleśa he is described as "the favourite of the people because of his (manifold) virtues". (svaguṇair-lokavallabho Vallabha). (33) In addition to the usual regal titles of the early Chālukyas Pulakesin I assumed the epithets Satyāśraya and Banavikrama.

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- (30) Sources of Karnataka History, I.p.131; Gadāyuddha, p15.
 (31) IA.XVI.15ff.
 (32) Mahākūta inscription.
 (33) IA.VII.161.

PRITHU ANAHILAPATAKA
CHAULUKYAS



CHAPTER III

THE GROWTH OF THE CHĀLUKYA KINGDOM

Kirtivarman and Maṅgaleśa

Pulakesin I left two sons, of whom the elder, Kirtivarman I succeeded him; and the latter was followed by his younger brother Maṅgaleśa. Under the vigorous rule of these two princes, who inherited the martial qualities of their father in no small degree, and who were no less ambitious and enterprising than he, the policy of expansion initiated by Pulakesin I was pushed on still further, and resulted in the establishment of the Chālukyas as the predominant political factor in the western Deccan.

For a proper understanding of the events of this period it is necessary to have a glimpse into the political geography of the country south of the Vindhya, during the latter part of the sixth century A.D. We shall take the Chālukya kingdom, which seems to have extended at this time from the neighbourhood of Satara to the east of the Bijapur district of the Bombay Presidency, as the centre of our survey. This will give us an idea of the position of other states in relation to it.

Along the west, between the mountains and the sea lay the Konkana, which comprised the Thana, Kolaba and

Ratnagiri district, ruled by the Mauryas. Puri described in the Aihole inscription as "the goddess of fortune of the western ocean was possibly their capital. (1) An inscription on the Island of Elephanta seems to identify ^{the place} itself with the city of the Mauryas. (2) To the north of Konkana along the sea coast, were situated Lāṭa and the Gurjara territory. Fleet has located the former between the Kim and the Dāmangaṅgā (corresponding more or less to the modern Surat district), and the latter between the Kim and the Mahi (roughly corresponding to the Broach district and parts of the Baroda State). (2) The chief cities of the Gurjaras were Nandipura and Bhṛigukaccha (modern Broach).

To the east of the above two principal cities lay the kingdom of the Kaṭachchuris, which towards the close of the sixth and the opening decade of the seventh century included Ujjayinī (Ujjain in the Gwalior state, C.I.) and Vidiśā (Bhilsa in the Bhopal state, C.I.) in the north, and Vatanagara (in the Chandor Taluk of the Nasik district) and Bhogavardhana (Bhokardan in the Aurangabad district of the

(1) DKD.282f; Important inscriptions from the Baroda State (Garde), pp.44-46. The Nemur plates of Maṅgaleśa locates Kuṇḍivāṭaka, identified with Kundi in the Sangameshwar Taluk in the Ratnagiri district in the Kōṅkanavishaya.

(DKD.348 & n).

(2) DKD.309f: 312f.

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Nizam's Dominions) in the south. (3) The kingdom ~~opponents~~ ^{apparently} included the Nasik and Khandesh districts of the Bombay presidency together with the south western parts of central India and north-western parts of the Hyderabad state. In his Abhona Plates, Saṅkaragana, a prince of the Kaṭachchhūri family, is described as the lord of the country bounded by the eastern and the western ocean. (4) This may be a poetic exaggeration. But Kaṭachchhūri control over the Gurjara territory, situated on the western sea, is implied by a land grant in the Bharu^kachchha-Vishaya issued by Saṅkaragana's son ^BBuddharāja. (5) The rise of the Gurjaras seems to have been almost synchronous with the foundation of the Kaṭachchhūri kingdom, and it is interesting to note that the early members of the family are described only as Sāmantas. (6) Berar and central Deccan were possibly held in the opening of the sixth century by the Vākātakas. But during the next hundred years the history of the region is obscure. Ellichpuⁿ ancient Achalapura in north Berar is found under a feudatory Rāshtrakūta prince named Nannaraja in 631-32 A.D. (7).

(3) cf. the Abhona plates of Saṅkaragana (E.I. IX.296ff), and the Vadner Plates of Buddharāja (E.I. XII.30ff), BISMJ, XIX, pp.56, 81.

(4) Abhona EI. IX.296ff.

(5) Sarsavni Plates of Buddharāja. (EI. VI.297ff).

(6) IA. XIII.82ff. 88ff;

(7) EI. XI.276ff; IA. XVIII.230ff.

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Three of his ancestors are also mentioned in his records, but it is not known if they also ruled the same territory before their descendant. The region round Nandiyardhana (modern Nandod) in the Yeotmal district of Berar, seems to have been occupied by one or two Nala kings in the fifth century, (8) but there is no evidence to show that their rule lasted for any length of time. Nothing is therefore known about the successors of the Vākātakas in south Berar and the central Deccan till their occupation by the Chālukyas. Under the circumstances it may not be altogether presumptuous to think, in view of the statement of the Abhona plates that it was the Kaṭachchurīs who penetrated deep into the Hyderabad state in the east, and may have even held a part of Berar after the extinction of the Vākāṭaka line.

The upper valley of the Mahānadi known in ancient time as Koṣala or Dakshina-Koṣala, roughly comprising the Raipur, Bilaspur and Sambalpur districts of the central Province and Orissa, was in the latter half of the sixth century under ^{the} Pāṇḍu-vamśi kings, who seem to have ousted the previous rulers, the Śarabhapuriyas. (9) Epigraphic

(8) EI. XIX. 100ff. XXI. 153ff. XXVI. 49ff.

(9) Majumdar and Altekar, New History of Indian People, vol. VI, pp. 86-91.

the kingdom of the Vishnukundins. Its western boundary seems to have extended into the interior as far as Śrīparvata or Śrīśaila in the Kurnul district. Dendulūra, Vāsaka, modern Dendaluru near Ellore in the ^{Krishna} Kṛṣṇa district, was one of the chief cities of this Kingdom. (13)

The southern neighbour of the Vishnukundins were the Dramilas or the Pallavas, who had as their metropolis the famous city of Kāñchi (modern Conjeeverum in the Chingleput district). There is evidence to show that they once ruled over a wide empire. But their influence gradually declined during the fifth and the first half of the sixth century. Sometime in the second half of the sixth century a new line of kings came to the throne and under their vigorous rule a resurrection of the lost prestige and power of the Pallavas began. It had momentous results in the history with which we are concerned, but more of this later on.

To the west of the Pallava principality, - over the Cuddapah and north Arcot districts of the Madras presidency, and the eastern parts of the Kolar district of the Mysore state-ruled the Bānas (14).

Beyond them the Gaṅgas held sway over the southern area of the Anantapura district and eastern and southern

(13) D.C. Sircar, Successors of the Sātavāhanas, p. 123, 134

(14) SI. E. AR., 1938, p. 82; IA. X. 36; XIII. 187; XL. 104; EI. XI. 222; EC. XI. (Kolar) Introduction.

districts of the Mysore state with their capitals at Tālavānapura (modern Talakad, 28 miles to the south-east of the Mysore city) and Kolāhalapura (modern Kolar). The central part of the state, known as the Sendaraka-Vishaya (15) seems to have been under the Sendrakas. But these may have acknowledged the ^{suzerainty} superiority of their powerful neighbours on the east and the west. The north-western districts of Mysore together with the southernmost districts of the Bombay presidency, constituted the Kadamba kingdom, which lay immediately to the south of the Chālukya principality. Beyond the Kadambas in the west, on the shore of the sea, lay the kingdom of the Ālupas or Ālukas comprising south Kanara and the contiguous part of the Mysore state.

To the east of the Chālukya kingdom towards the Bellary and Kurnul districts lay the Nalavādivishaya, probably a settlement of the Nālas. (16) The Goḍak Plates of

(15) Rice identified Sendrakavishaya with Nāgarakhanda, but this does not seem to be correct. The territory included Palmidi or Halmidi, seven miles north-north-west of Belur (MAS.1936p.72~~9~~), and Vallāvidesā (MAS.1918pp.35,41) which Kielhorn rightly identified with Bellavi in the Tumkur district (EI.VI.7.) Nāgarakhanda, it may be noted, is always associated with Banavāsi.

(16) Nalavādi included the villages of Ulchal (Ulāchala in Kurnul taluk), Gorla (Gorantla in the same taluk) and Kuni-kanur (in Pattikunda taluk) in Kurnul district. see EI.XXII. 29; S.I.E.; AR.1936 nos.269,286 and also no.430 of 1923.

Dejja-Maharāja, (17) and Chiplun plates of Pulakesin II suggest that somewhere between the Ratnagiri and the Belgaum districts a separate branch of the Sendrakas ruled from the fifth century onwards.

The far south of India - the land of the Tamils, - was occupied by the famous kingdoms of the Cholas, comprising the Trichinopoly and the Tanjore districts, with its capital at Uragapur or Uraiyur; of the Pāndyas, corresponding to the Madura, Ramnad and Tinnevely districts together with southern Travancore, with its capitals at Kolkai and Madura and Keralas or Cheras (Malabar, Cochin and north Travancore). South of the Kerala country lay a small territory known as the Mushakas or Mushika.

Such was then the political geography of the Deccan when Kirtivarman ascended the throne in 566-67 A.D. The new king is praised in inscriptions as a man gifted with a multitude of qualities. One record says that he was endowed with sharp intellect which was "capable of retaining, remembering and understanding the deep and thorough meanings of all the lores". He is also described as brave, well versed in polity and having the capacity to protect the whole circle of the earth. Leaving aside the

91x(17) E.I. XXI. 289ff. The Plates mention Vijayānanda-Madhya-marāja and his son Adhirāja Indrananda of the Sendraka family. It has been rightly pointed out that these names recall the name of Vallabha Senānandarāja of the Chiplun Plates (EI. III. 50f).

element of exaggeration, one cannot deny, in the light of ^{his} achievements which we are going to recount, that Kirtivarman was a worthy successor of his father.

The Godachi Plates describe Kirtivarman as the uprooter of all rival kinsmen (Utsāḍita-sarva-dāyādaḥ) (18) This implies that he had either to engage in a contest for succession, or to suppress some serious trouble created by his kith and kin some time before 578 A.D. Perhaps the latter was the case. It is interesting to note in this connection that his successor Maṅgaleśa killed Svāmikarāja of the Chālukya family, a hero of eighteen battles. (18a) The magnitude of the crisis cannot be appreciated in the absence of further information. But the king's success seems to have been complete, at least so far as his own reign was concerned.

The Kirtivarman's fame in history rests on his military exploits. In the Badami inscription of his twelfth year (578 A.D.) it is stated in general terms that he was "adorned with a spacious canopy of renown, bounded only by the waves of four oceans, and supported on standards of victory obtained in many a battle, in which there were

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(18) JUB. Jan. 1937., p. 165ff.
 (18a) IA. VII. 161.

great conflicts between Charioteers, elephant forces, cavalry and foot-soldiers" (19) More specific details of the king's victories are recounted in the Mahākūṭa inscription (602 A.D.). It is said that he crushed the arrays of many hostile kings, including those of Vaṅga, Aṅga, Kalinga, Vattura, Magadha, Madraka, Kerala, Gaṅga, Mushaka, Pāṇḍya, Dramila, Chōliya, Āluka, and Vakṛijayanti. These territories are to be located in different parts of India - some of them far away from the Chālukya kingdom. ^{Madraka} Maehaka (unless there was a southern settlement of that name, of which there is no evidence) belongs to the north-west of the country, and corresponds to modern Sialkot and its adjacent districts in the Punjab. Vaṅga, Aṅga and Magadha answer more or less to south and east Bengal, Bhagalpur district in east Bihar, and the Patna and Gaya districts in south Bihar respectively, - all of them in eastern India. Kalinga lay along the north-eastern coast of the Deccan, and Dramila was apparently the Pallava territory, to the south-east of the Plateau. Kerala, Mushaka, Pāṇḍya, and Chōliya belong to the far south. The only territories which were nearer to the Chālukya homeland and lay to its

(19) IA.VI.363f.

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south were ^{Ganga} ~~Coniga~~, Āluka and Vaijayanti (Banavāsi in north Kanara, the capital of the Kadamba kingdom).

It is difficult to determine how much of the above account is historical. It reads more or less like a conventional description of a dig-vijaya, in which the aim of the composer has been to create, and to emphasise, an impression of the military prowess of Kīrtivarman, by ascribing to him real and unreal victories over a host of kings, - some his neighbours, others living far off. There is no reference of a local character such as is found in Ravikīrti's narrative of Pulakesin II's campaigns in the south. The names of well-known contemporaries like those of the Kaṭachchuris, Lāṭas, Gurjaras, Mauryas and Nalas are also conspicuous by their absence. Under the circumstances one feels inclined to agree with the observation of Fleet that "some of these territories lay so far away to the north and east, that the claim that is made in respect of them is plainly only a matter of boast. And the mention of Kerala, Pāṇḍya, Dramila and the Chōliya has probably not much more substance in it". (20)

(20) DKD.346. Attention has been drawn in this connection to the fact that Kīrtivarman's father is known to have performed the aśvamedha; and the prince may have been put in charge of the sacrificial house, and in course of his wandering may have come into conflict with some of the rulers mentioned in the Mahākūta inscription (PHAS.4th.ed.p.509).

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A more modest claim regarding Kirtivarman's achievements is made in the Aihole inscription. He is described there as "the night of doom to the Nalas, Mauryas and Kadambas (Nala-Maurya-Kadamba-kāla-rātrih). About four centuries later the King's triumphs over the same peoples are referred to in the Kantham plates of Vikramāditya V. The Mauryas and the Kadambas, as we have seen, were the western and southern neighbours of the Chālukyas. The Nalas are located by some in the Yeotmal district, and by others in the Bastar-Jeypur area. But, as has been pointed out before, there is no evidence to show that the rule of the tribe survived in any of these regions till our period. Besides, it does not seem possible that Kirtivarman could have come into conflict with the Nalas^{of the name} without overwhelming the Kātachchuris - an act regarding which again we have no evidence. In the absence of further light on the subject we tentatively accept Fleet's proposed identification of the Nalas^{with} with the people of the Nalavādivishaya. (21) If the Kantham Plates are to be believed, the habitation of the Nalas was totally destroyed and their territory apparently annexed to the Chālukya kingdom. The Mauryas were sent into exile. This again implies that they were deprived of at least part of

(21) DKD. 345.

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their territory. Fleet draws attention to the fact that Satyāśraya-Dhruvarāja Indravarman of the Ādi-Mahā-Bappūra family was possibly appointed to the governorship of Konkana (Ratnagiri area?) in 590 A.D. by Kirtivarman I (22). Mangalēśa's grant in the Konkanaṇavishaya also confirms the discomfiture of the Mauryas at the hands of Kirtivarman. The Chālukya king's conflict with his southern neighbour, seems to have been of a serious nature. The evidence of the Aihole inscription suggests that he had to face the united opposition of all the branches of the Kadambas (Kadamba-Kadamba-Kadambaka). It was indeed a life and death struggle for the latter to survive as an independent political unit^s. It is also not altogether impossible (in the light of the Mahākūta inscription) that their power was further augmented by their eastern and western neighbours, the Gāngas and the Ālukas. Verse 19 of the Aihole inscription, which poetically describes the fact that the Gāngas and the Ālupas acquired great happiness by renouncing seven sins in former days, seems to contain an allusion to the defeat of the two ~~tit~~ rulers sustained at the hands of Pulakeśin II's father. In any case Kirtivarman attained a noble victory ^{over} and the the Kadamba confederacy, and the fact finds special mention

in all the formal charters of the subsequent period. The enemy was struck down low, but not exterminated.

Though most of his time was taken up by warlike activities, the Chālukya king was not unmindful of his duties towards his subjects. The Godachi Plates state that he gratified all sections of his people by protecting them in accordance with the standard rules applicable to the different orders and the various stages of their life (*varṇ-āśrama-nyāya-paripālan-ānurañjita-sarva-prakṛitiḥ*) (23). The king was a staunch Brahmanical Hindu, and receives praise for his devotion to gods, brahmins and spiritual preceptors. Mahākūtesvara or Śiva seems to have drawn special respect from him (24). He performed the Vedic rituals of Bahḥusuvarṇa and Paundrika. The Chiplun Plates of his son describe Kīrtivarman as Vātāpyāḥ-prathama-vidhātā, which Fleet translates as "the first maker or creator of Vātāpi", and takes to mean that the king began to adorn the city with temples and other buildings. His brother Maṅgaleśa actually built a large Vaiṣṇava temple on the hills of Badami which was finished in the twelfth year of his reign. Professor H.C. Ray Chaudhuri suggests to me that the phrase might imply that it was Kīrtivarman who first organised the famous fort either as a yuvarāja, or when he ascended the throne.

(23) JUB, Jan. 1937, p. 165ff.

(24) cf. Mahākūṭa inscription of Maṅgaleśa, concluding section

The success of Kirtivarman's efforts was perhaps in part due to the wise counsel of a great Brahmin (^{mahā}maṭra-brāhmaṇa) named Vyāghraśvāmin, who is described as bearing the burden of the entire kingdom (rāya-sarvasya-dhurandhara). He was an extremely learned man. An expert in the Vedas, Vedāṅgas and the science of polity, he was endowed with extraordinary ability in explaining the grammars in their commentaries, logic (nyāya), works on poetics (Kāvya), dramatic art (nāṭaka), history (itihāsa), music (gāndharva), and the Purāṇas. (25)

The Badamic inscription of the twelfth year of the king describes his brother Maṅgaleśa in glowing terms, and specially praises his valour in war. He is described as "one whose feet are tinged with the lustre of jewels in the diadems of kings, who have been caused to bow down before him by the edge of the sword which is wielded by his arms, - and who is the sole auspicious abode of victory over the (whole) earth as far as the ocean". If these fulsome praise has any substance in it, then it shows that Maṅgaleśa was a worthy lieutenant of his war-like brother, and some of the martial achievements of the latter may have been augmented through the efforts of this prince. The Mahākūta

(25) cf. the Godachi Plates.

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inscription bears testimony to the cordial relation subsisting between the two brothers and refers to the assignment by the younger brother of all the fruits of his good works to the elder.

Kirtivarman had the birudas Parākrameśvara and Puru-ṛaṇa-parākrama. He married into the Sendraka family, (possibly the one which we have provisionally ^{located} treated in the south of the Bombay Presidency", and his wife was the sister of Śrī-vallabha Senānanda. The king had possibly three sons - Pulakeśin (II), and Vishnuvardhana and Buddhavarṣa. (26) The princes seem to have been minors when their father died in C.597-98 A.D. and the throne passed to their uncle.

Lavish praise has been bestowed upon Maṅgaleśa in his own inscriptions; and even if part of it is true, it would, indeed, reveal a remarkable personality. He is described as the full-moon in the sky which was the Chāhukya race. His personal character was exemplary, his accomplishments innumerable. He was adorned with modesty, charity, tenderness, sincerity, truthfulness, and knowledge. His intellect was ever intent upon grasping the essence and true meaning of all the various manuals on laws and precepts (sarva-śāstr-ārtha-tattva-nivishta-buddhiḥ). He

(26) The Sanjan plates of Buddhavarṣa describes him as the younger brother of Satyāśraya i.e., Pulakeśin II. (EI.XIV. 144ff). Dhārāśraya Jatyasiṃha is now known to have been a younger son of Pulakeśin II and not his brother (D.R.Bhandarkar.vol.p.53f)

obtained enlightenment by excellent religious merit, and delighted in worshipping gods, brahmins and spiritual preceptors. Regal qualities also he had in abundance. He was well-skilled in counsel; in selecting spies and envoys, in making war and peace, in encamping and making forward movements; in attacking in the rear, in marching over the neighbouring states; in the construction of fortæ; and in distributing honours among the country people and town folk (27). Valorous in war (raṇavikrānta) and possessed of the prowess of a lion (simhavikramaḥ), the king was an object of desire to crowds of warriors and birds of prey (bhāṭa-sakunagan-ābhilashita). Not the least among his numerous virtues was his passion for adherence to justice in his own kingdom (svarāshtrē-nyāy-ānuvartī) (28).

We may imagine that the experience that Mangaleśa earned under his illustrious brother, together with his personal qualities, must have weighed with the Chālukyan statesmen in selecting him as the successor of Kīrtivarman. The choice was amply rewarded. The new king took up the thread where his predecessor had left it and finished the work begun by the latter, of establishing Chālukyan ascendancy in the Western Deccan.

(27) Mantra-chāra-dūka-sandhi-vigraha-sthāna-prayāṇa-pārshni-grahana-maṇḍalayātrā-durgā¹sthāna-jānapada-paura-mānya-vibhāga-kusalaḥ.

(28) The above description is based upon the Badami cave inscription, Mahākūṭa inscription and Nerur plates.

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We have already seen that the northern neighbours of the Chālukyas were the Kāṭachchurīs, who seem to have been the political successors of the Vākāṭakas in the upper Deccan. Some time before April 602, in the fifth year of his reign, Maṅgaleśa set his heart upon the conquest of the northern region, and came into conflict with the reigning Kāṭachchuri king Buddharāja. The latter not only ruled a big kingdom, but also had other material resources which make kingship a reality. The ~~Nerur~~ Plates of Maṅgaleśa particularly refers to his strength in elephant forces, cavalry, infantry and treasury (gaṇa-turaga-padaṇi-kosa-~~trala~~-saṁpannam). (29). Victory fell to the Chālukyas, and their king claims to have taken possession of all the substance of his adversary. The seizure of the fortune of the Kāṭachchurīs by Maṅgaleśa also finds prominent mention in the Aihole inscription. Fleet in his Dynasty of the Kanarese districts conjectured that by his successes over the Kāṭachchuri king, Maṅgaleśa acquired "the whole of the northern territory up to the river Kim and perhaps even to the Mahī!" But after the discovery of the Sarsavni Plates of Buddharāja he modified his statement and suggested that the Chālukya king's advance was possibly limited to the Kim or the Narmadā. (30)

(29) Elephant forces of Buddharāja are also referred to in the Aihole epigraph.

(30) IA XXXII.214n.

after the Vadner grant of Buddhārāja had come to light even this latter view of the distinguished scholar required modification. The record definitely shows the Kāṭachchuri king in occupation of a large part of, if not the entire, Nasik district in Kālachuri Samvat 309 (607-09 A.D.). (31) It may be recalled in this connection that Buddhārāja's father Saṅkaragana, is described as the lord of the land bounded by the eastern and western sea; and we have suggested that the Kāṭachchuris may have had under them a considerable part of the Nizam's dominions. In the Aihole inscription the horse soldiers of Maṅgaleśa are represented as carrying on their own operations on the shores of the eastern and the western oceans. (32) One feels tempted to connect these activities with the king's aggression against his ^{Buddharāja} northern neighbour. If we are correct in our surmise, then it is not altogether impossible that the territory north of the Bhīmā, and its affluent the Nṛā, (comprising the Poona and Ahmadnagar districts of the Bombay Presidency, together with the contiguous districts of the Nizam's dominions), which apparently was attacked by Govinda and Appāyike at the very beginning of Pulakesin II's reign, fell into the hands of

(31) E. I. XII. 30ff.

(32) "who by the sheet of dust of his army of horse, encamped on the shores of the eastern and western seas, stretched an awning over the quarters".

the Chālukyas as a result of the war with the Kāṭachchuris.

The victory over their powerful neighbour on the north points to the fact that the Chālukyas possessed a strong military machine, and their ruler was fully conscious of its effectiveness. The Mahākūṭa inscription clearly shows that Maṅgaśa's invasion of the Kāṭachchuri dominions was only a part of a more wider plan. His ambition was nothing less than to raise a pillar of his victory on the bank of the Bhāgīrathī. This hope, however, did not materialise. It is possible that this was due to the disturbance created by the powerful Chālukya chieftain Svāmikarāja, a hero of eighteen battles. But he paid the penalty with his life. (33)

An important event of the ^{reign of Maṅgaśa,} ~~rise of Marigala~~ also to be connected with the coastal region on the west, was the reduction of Revatīdvīpa, identified with modern Redi, a fortified promontory about eight miles south of Vengurla, in the Ratnagiri district. (34) It is not known from whom this place was taken. Curiously enough, no record of Maṅgaśa so far discovered alludes to this feat of the king. On the other hand, the Aihole inscription,

(33) The incident does not find mention in the Mahākūṭa inscription, but is referred to in the Nerur plates. Fleet thinks that Svāmikarāja was settled in the Konkan. (DKD.347)
 (34) DKD.p.347.

which refers to the war with the Kaṭachchuris and the taking of Revatīdvīpa does not refer to the killing of Svāmīkarāja. Future discovery only can show if the incident connected with Svāmīkarāja and the investment of Revatīdvīpa were parts of a single movement.

With the victories of Maṅgaleśa the first phase of Chālukyan expansion closes. The kingdom then seems roughly to ^{have} comprised within its limits the central districts of the Bombay Presidency, the adjoining districts of the Nizam's dominions, and the Bellary and Kurnul districts of the Madras Presidency. The Kadambas, Gaṅgas, Ālukas and Mauryas were brought under subjugation; the power of the Nālas, probably the people Nalavādivishaya, was exterminated; and the enemy on the north was humbled, and compelled to yield part of his territory to the victor. The labours of two generations of kings thus secured for the Chālukyas the place of ascendancy in the western Deccan, and prepared the ground for them to play a still more ambitious role in the history of the whole peninsula. But before this could be done, a tragic fate - though for a short time - overtook the ruling house.

The last days of Maṅgaleśa seem to have been spent in an effort to secure the succession of the throne to his son. (35). In the mean time his elder nephew Pulakeśin II

(35) K.T. Telang (JBBRAS, X.367) and Fleet (DKD.349) (contd)

came of age, put forth his rightful claims to be appointed as the Yuvarāja, and thereby incurred the displeasure of his powerful uncle. The prince seems either to have been banished, or to have left the country in fear. He sought ~~the~~ help of the neighbouring princes to recover his birth right. In the struggle that followed Maṅgaleśa lost his kingdom and his life. (36)

Like his predecessors, Maṅgaleśa also was a staunch ^{ancient} Brahmin Hindu (parama-brahmanyah). But he paid his special devotion to Viṣṇu (parama-Bhāgavatah). He erected a temple to the god during his reign of his elder brother, and after the war with the Katachchuris spent the treasure, seized from the enemy, on an idol procession

(35) contd. suggested that Satyāśraya-Dhruvarāja-Indra-varman may have been the son of Maṅgaleśa. But this is highly improbable.

(36) The above account is based upon verses 14-15 of the Aihole inscription, and the interpretations put upon them by Kielhorn and (EI.VI.p.9 and note. See also JRAS.1907, p.1062).

The Kauthem plates tell us that Maṅgaleśa abdicated when Pulakesin II came of age. But this statement is rightly rejected as it is contradicted by the contemporary evidence of the Aihole inscription.

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of his patron deity. His tolerance for other religions is revealed by the fact that he also made provisions for Mahākūtesvara-Śiva, the patron god of his father and elder brother. He had the Nirudas Ranavikrānta and Umu-Ranavikrānta.

CHAPTER IV.

THE BID FOR THE EMPIRE AND THE BEGINNING OF THE
CONFLICT WITH THE PALLAVAS
AND THE TAMIL STATES.

Pulakesin II

The period of Pulakesin II's reign constituted a distinct chapter in the history of the Deccan in general, and of the Chālukyas in particular. It saw the successful culmination of the warlike activities that characterised the reigns of his three immediate predecessors; it also witnessed the beginning of that long drawn contest between the Chālukyas on the one hand and the Pallavas and the three Tamil states on the other, which forms the central theme in the history of his descendants. The political aspiration of a southern king to be the master of the whole of Dakshināpatha, which apparently inspired the militant sons of Pulakesin I, was finally realised in practice by his valiant grandson. In attaining this, however, he came into violent collision with the vigorous rulers of the line of Simhavarman who held their court at Kāñchi. Towards the end of his reign the Chālukya king suffered a disastrous defeat at the hands of his southern rival, and bequeathed the quarrel to his successors who were able to bring it to a successful issue. Two other important features of this reign were a brilliant victory

won by the Chālukya king over a paramount lord of north India, which drew the admiration of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang, and the transplantation of a junior branch of the family on the eastern coast of the Deccan which survived, through various vicissitudes of fortune, for more than four centuries and in a sense much longer. We now pass on to the study of this most interesting period of Chālukyan history, momentous alike in its achievements, and the consequences that resulted from it.

The deeds of Pulakesin II have been found commemorated for posterity by a grateful poet on a slab of stone attached to a Jaina temple at Aihole. This account is supplemented by information gathered from several other records of Pulakesin's own time, and of the time of his successors, references in Pallava inscriptions, and by some meagre but priceless observations made by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang and the author of his life. The way in which Ravikīrti, the composer of the Aihole epigraph describes the achievements of his patron suggests that he followed a definite scheme while writing the praśasti, and tried to impress on the mind of the reader the gradual stages through which Pulakesin attained greater and greater dignity, and rose to higher and higher position till he reached the pinnacle of imperial

glory. We shall, therefore, follow the sequence of events as narrated by the poet. (1)

The reign opened under a deep shadow of calamity. The dynastic dispute left in its trail foreign invasion and internal confusion, created especially by the rebellion of feudatories which threatened to develop into a major catastrophe for the Chālukyan kingship. The situation was indeed such as would have tested the resources of a mature man. But the young son of Kirtivarman rose equal to the occasion, and by his swift and energetic actions saved his valuable heritage from an untimely dissolution. (2)

The most pressing danger that the new king seems to have been called upon to face, almost immediately upon his accession, was the presence of two invaders, named Appāyika and Govinda, on the northern frontier of his territory. Seizing the opportunity (labdhā^v+kālam) offered by the conditions then prevailing within the Chālukyan kingdom, they had come, with their troops of elephants to conquer the region north of the Bhaimarathī,

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(1) Kielhorn also detects a sequence in the narration of events in the Aihole inscription (E.I., VI.3)

(2) The Aihole inscription makes pointed reference to the fact that after the subversion of the rule of Maṅgaleśa the whole world was encompassed in the darkness of enemies.

i.e., the Bhīmā. The identity of the two persons is not known. Mirashi thinks that the latter may have been the same as the Rāshtrakūta Govinda, grandfather of Nannarāja of Achalapura, mentioned in the Tivarkhed and Multai Plates. (3) Future discoveries alone will show if the invaders were acting as agents of the Kāṭachchuri king Buddharāja, who is known to have been alive till 610 A.D. and references to whose troops of elephants are found both in the Nerur Plates of Maṅgaleśa and the Aihole inscription. The forces led by Appāyika fought an engagement with the Chālukya army and were defeated. Govinda on the other hand seems to have deserted to the side of Pulakeśin, and was rewarded for the services rendered by him. It appears that as a result of this victory, and the defection in the enemy's camp, the sway of the Chālukya king was acknowledged over the northern districts of the Marāṭhi-speaking area, and even beyond up to the southern bank of the Narmadā. (4) ^{Some of} these territorial gains ^{may, however,} seem to have

(3) IA.XVIII.230ff; EI.XI.276ff; ABORI, XXV.47.

(4) We are led to this conclusion for the following reasons:-

(i) The inscriptions of the Kāṭachchuri Buddharāja shows that Pulakeśin II's immediate predecessors almost certainly did not conquer the north Marāṭha country; (ii) Pulakeśin II was apparently in possession of the territory to the south bank of the Narmadā before his conflict with Harsha; (iii) the only known occasion on which the Chālukyan king seems to have come into hostile relations with the peoples of the north Marāṭha region was at the time of the invasion of Appāyika and Govinda; (iv) if the identity of the invader

been made at the expense of the Kaṭachchuris. We shall see below that about the same time they were also losing grounds to their western neighbour the Maitrakas. After three generations of rule the Kaṭachchuri dominion was thus finally liquidated.

While Pulakeśin was thus engaged on the north, the Kadambas of Banavāsi and their associates - the Gaṅgas and the Ālupas - made a bid for regaining their lost freedom; they were also joined by the Mauryas of the Kōṅkana. The Kadamba contemporary of Pulakeśin II seems to have been Bhogivarman, who claims in his inscription that he conquered a large kingdom by the power of his own arms and defeated many enemies. (5) This may have happened during the tumultuous period of the civil war between Maṅgaleśa and Pulakeśin. But retribution was not long delayed. After settling the affairs in the north, Pulakeśin apparently swooped down upon the Kadambas, and laid siege to Banavāsi. The fort was reduced and the rebel brought to book. It is not unlikely that the family of Bhogivarman was finally uprooted by the Chālukya king about this time. (5a) The

(4) (contd) Govinda with Govinda of Achalapura is correct, then it would also show that the influence of Pulakeśin II extended up to the north of Berar at the very beginning of his reign.

(5) Tagare plates of Bhogivarman, MAS.1918, p.35.

(5a) Bhogivarman had a son named Vishnuvarman. But there is no evidence to show that the latter succeeded his father.

discomfiture of the Kadambas brought the Gangas and the Ālupas to their senses. The Aihole inscription says that they were subdued by the mere authority of the Chālukya king (anubhāvopanata). The turn of the Mauryas came next. After being overwhelmed in the Konkana proper they seem to have taken a stand in the island city of Purī (identified with Elephanta off the coast of Bombay), "the Fortune of the Western Ocean" (aparajaladher-lakshmin). Pulakeśin invested the place with hundreds of ships and forced the enemy to submit. Here again he seems to have followed a policy of totally exterminating the power of the hostile clan, for we hear no more of them.

The quick success of the Chālukya king over the rebels inside, and the enemies abroad, ~~must have made a~~ profound impression upon the Lātas, Mālavas and the Gurjaras. The Aihole inscription says that they were subdued by the splendour of Pulakeśin, (prātāpopanata) and "became, as it were, teachers of how feudatories, subdued by force, (dandopanata) ought to behave. It is difficult to determine the exact import of this statement. In the Ārya-Mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa Śīlāditya of Valabhī (identified with the first king of that name, whose dated records range between 605 and 611 A.D.) is described as the ruler of the country that stretched beyond Ujjayinī up to the land

of the Lāṭas (Lāṭas) on the sea-coast:

paśchāddeśaparyantaṁ Ujjayanyāmataḥ pare
 samudra-tīra-paryantaṁ Lādānāṁ janapade tathā
 Śīlāhvo nāma nripatih buddhānāṁ sāsane rataḥ
 Purīm Valabhya saṁprāpto dharṁarājā bhaviṣhyati (6)

Hien Tsang testifies to the fact that the Maitraka king was actually in possession of western Malwa (Mo-la-pò). His brother Kharagraha issued his grants from Ujjayinī in 616 A.D. (7) The latter's son Dhruvasena II. Bālāditya made grants of land in the Mālavakabhukti in 640-41 A.D. (8) In the life of Hien Tsang he is called "the king of the south" (8a) Śīlāditya's own son Derabhata is spoken of in some late records of the family as the lord of the land which has the Vindhya and the Sahyas as its breasts. (9) Dhruvasena II's son Dharasena IV issued his Kaira Plates from Bharukachchha in 649 A.D. (10) All these evidences point to an intimate connection between the Lāṭas, Mālavas and the Gurjaras, on the one hand, and the Maitrakas of Valabhī on the other, during the first half of the seventh century, after the passing away of the power of the

(6) Jayaswal, Imperial History of India, 43; Garde, Important Inscriptions of the Baroda State. p.9.

(7) Pro. of the 7th or. conference 659ff; Imp.Ins.Baroda, p7ff

(8) EI.VIII.195; ~~XX.8f.~~

(8a) Beal.Life.185; Tripathi, Kanauj.112.

(9) EI.I.88. Imp.Ins.Baroda, p.11.

(10) IA.XV?339.

Katachchuris. The evidence of the Kaira grant of Vijayarāja has been adduced by Fleet to corroborate the statement of the Aihole inscription that Pulakesin subdued the Lātas and the Gurjaras. (11) But the genuineness of this record has been called into question. (12) At best it shows that the Ghālukyas held sway over the Lāta division only. As far as our present knowledge goes, it is extremely doubtful if Pulakesin II ever had any effective control over the land occupied by the Mālavas and the Gurjaras. The statement of the Aihole inscription may imply nothing more than that these small kingdoms established friendly relations with their powerful neighbour in the south, and acknowledged the superiority of his might.

The clouds that gathered round the fortune of the Chālukya kingdom were thus dispelled by the energy and resourcefulness of Pulakesin II, and "the whole world grew light again, invaded, as it were, by the lustrous rays of his irresistible splendour". The evidence of the Hyderabad Plates shows that by 612 A.D. the king was firmly seated on his throne at Vātāpi, the capital city of his father and grandfather. The record also states that he

(11) DKD. 359.

(12) BG. I. I. p. 111; I. II. 188. and note 3.

assumed the title of Paramēśvara or "supreme lord" "by defeating hostile kings who had applied themselves (or a hostile king who had applied himself) to the contest of a hundred battles". (13)

An important event in the career of Pulakeśin II, that has made his name immortal in the history of India in general, was the signal defeat he inflicted on Harshavardhana, the lord paramount of the north. The latter had come to the throne in 606 A.D., about three years earlier than his southern rival, and like him had to face serious trouble at home and abroad, at the commencement of his reign. But overcoming all these difficulties he was able to bring a considerable portion of the Uttarāpatha under his sway, and seems to have made his influence felt over a still wider area. Towards the south prince Mādhavagupta, of the Gupta family, whose territory apparently lay on the confines of the Maukhari kingdom (then under Harsha himself), and comprised eastern Malwa and the contiguous districts, was a subordinate ally of his. (14) The emergence of a formidable kingdom in the Deccan, ruled by an able and ambitious king, which had the Narmadā as one of its boundaries, and stood as a dreadful menace to the Gupta

(13) IA.VI.72f. DKD.351 and n. 4.

(14) PHAI. 4th ed. pp.492 n, 516.

principality, could not have been a matter of indifference to the Northern emperor. Hiuen, Tsang tells us that he "gathered troops from the Five Indies, and summoned the best leaders from all countries", and with himself at their head went to subdue the southern king. (15) But even this vast preparation was not of any avail to the aggressor. His stupendous effort ended in failure and ignominy. The Life of the Chinese Master of Law records the incident as follows : "Śīlāditya, boasting of his skill and invariable success of his general, filled with confidence himself, marched at the head of his troops to contend with the prince (Pulakesin II), but he was unable to prevail or subjugate him." (16) The Chālukya version of the war is thus found in the Aihole inscription: "Envious because his troops of mighty elephants were slain in war, Harsha whose lotuses, which were his feet, were covered in the rays of jewels of the chiefs that were nourished by his immeasurable power was caused by him (Pulakesin) melt away by fear". The Generations of kings who came after Pulakesin II took special pride in recording the defeat sustained by "the lord of the whole of the ~~whole of the~~

(15) Beal, II. 256; Watters, II. 239.

(16) Beal, Life, 146.

Uttarāpatha" at the hands of their great forebear. (17)

The scene of warfare between Harsha and Pulakesin was probably laid on the bank of the Narmada. ~~(24)~~ Its date is far from certain. But we should perhaps assign it to some time in the third decade of the seventh century A.D. (25).

Such a victory as Pulakesin won over the monarch of north India must have produced important consequences. Yet we hardly know anything about them. Apart from raising his prestige as a war-lord, one can imagine that it immensely helped the southern king to consolidate further his position at home. After recording the defeat

(17) For an alleged incursion of Harsha in the Kuntala country and the Far South, see Tripathi, Kanauj.p.121.

~~(24)~~

(25) see appendix I.

In the records of the Gurjara princes Jayabhata III and Jayabhata IV, their ancestor Dadda II is described thus:

Paramēśvara-sri-Harsha-dev-ābhibhūta-Valabhi-pati-paritrān-opajāta-bhramad-adabhra-śubhr-ābhra-vibhramayaśo-vitānah Sri Dadda.

"The illustrious Dadda... over whom, with the grace of a white cloud, there hung ceaselessly a canopy of glory, gained by protecting or rescuing the lord of Valabhi, who had been overpowered by the great lord the illustrious Harshadeva". (IA.XIII.77f; EI.XXV.292f; XXIII.149f)

Some scholars associate this event with Harsha's operation against Pulakesin II (JBORS.1923, 319f; ABORI.XIII.300ff; Tripathi, Kanauj, 100f etc). It has been argued that the Maitrakas and the Gurjaras entered into a league with the Chālukya king, and the northern emperor was repulsed by their combined forces. Smith writes that the king of Valabhi, being defeated by Harsha, fled to the dominion of the Rājā of Broach who relied probably upon the powerful support of the Chālukya king. We do not think that the passage cited above admits of any such interpretation. It seems to mean nothing more than that Dadda protected (or rescued, or saved or defended

(contd.)

of Harsha the Aihole epigraph states that "Almost equal to Indra, He by means of all the three powers, gathered by him according to rule, and by his noble birth and other excellent qualities, acquired the sovereignty of the three Mahārāshṭrakas with their nine and ninety thousand villages". His success also seems to have greatly enhanced the self-confidence of Pulakesin in his own strength and wisdom, and inspired him to seek for fresh laurels on fields of battle in distant lands. Some time before 629-30 A.D. (26) he carried his arms to the east coast of the Deccan to bring the rulers of that region under his sway. The route followed lay from north to south. For the account of the campaigns we are again indebted to Ravikirti. The earliest to taste the power of the invader were the Kosalas and the Kalingas. It is said that these people had broken the pride of other

(25) (contd) -paritrāna) Dhruvabhata when he was attacked by Harsha. Such claims on the part of feudatories are not by no means rare in Indian history. Clearly the Gurjjara chief was fighting on the side of his liege lord and rendered some signal service by defending or saving his person.

(26) see appendix I.

kings and their householders were prominent in the pursuit of the three objects of life (tri-varga). But at the approach of the Chālukya army they were made to evince signs of fear. Apparently there was no actual invasion of their territories. Both the people may have escaped the calamity by offering their submission. The history of Kosala about this time is extremely obscure. It may have been held by a prince of the Pāṇḍuvamśa. (27) Hiuen Tsang says that "this country, more than 6000 li in circuit, was surrounded by mountains and was a succession of woods and marshes; its capital being above 40 li in circuit. The soil of the country was rich and fertile, the towns and villages were close together; the people were prosperous, tall of stature and black in colour; the king was a Kshatriya by birth, a Buddhist in religion, and of noted benevolence. "(28). The land of the Kalingas ceased to be a single political unit for a long time past. Its upper part was included within the Kōṅgoda dominions. This country, according to the Chinese pilgrim, was above 1000 li in circuit. "It was hilly and bordered

(27) New History of Indian People, VI. 91.

(28) Watters, II. 200.

on the bay of the sea. The people were tall and valourous and of a black complexion. They had sense of propriety and were not very deceitful. The country contained some tens of towns which stretched from the slopes of the hills to the edge of the sea. As the towns were naturally strong there was a gallant army which kept the neighbouring countries in awe, and so there was no powerful enemy. It contained many rare and precious commodities; the currency was cowries and pearls" (29) The contemporary of Pulakesin II in this region was very probably Mādhava-Sainyabhīta II of the Śailodbhava family. His Khurda Plates style him "the lord of all the Kalingas" (30) Till 619-20 he acknowledged the suzerainty of Mahārājādhirāja Śaśāṅka, the king of the Gaudas and the rival of Harsha in eastern India. (31) His Puri Plates, probably dated in the year 23, states that "he was able in his prosperous condition to reduce the sovereign influence of his enemies over their own statal circle (mandalas) of kings, and performed the aśvamedha and other sacrifices which had fallen into disuse on account of the negligence of impious kings". (32) The Śailodbhava king apparently regained his sovereign status after the death of Śaśāṅka.

(29) ib. 196f.

(30) JASB. 1904. 282ff.

(31) EI. VI. 143f.

(32) EI. XXIII. 122ff.

After receiving the submission of the Kosalas and the Kalingas, Pulakesin II pushed on towards Pishtapura. Its ruler, apparently relying upon the possession of a strong fortress within the city, offered opposition. But the city was razed to the ground (pishtam), and the stronghold captured. After this victory the Chālukya king crossed the Godāvari and entered the ancient

(34) EL. XXIII. 88f

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Andhrāpatha. According to the Chinese pilgrim the country was 3000 li in circuit, and its capital P'ing-ch'i (or k'i)-lo (Venḡi?) was above 20 li in circuit. The people were of a violent character(35). The kingdom, at this time, was most probably under the Vishnukundin king Indrabhattāarakavarman. At the approach of the invading army the ruler seems to have taken shelter in some fortified place on an island in "the water of Kuṇāla χ ", identified by Kielhorn with the Golair Lake on the east coast of the Deccan. (36) A sanguinary battle followed in which the place was thoroughly ravaged (avamardita).

Pulakesin next proceeded to punish the king of Kāñchī. The country over which he ruled was estimated by the Chinese pilgrim to have been 6000 li in circuit,

(35) Watters. II.209.

(36) I follow here the chronology proposed by D.C.Sircar in his Successors of the Sātavāhanas with slight modification. Indravarman's grandfather Mādhavarman is known to have had a very long reign extending over more than forty years, if not fifty. Indravarman himself also ruled for at least twenty-seven years. In view of this it does not seem possible that the reign or reigns of his immediate predecessor or predecessors covered about thirty years, as Sircar thinks. Hence Indramarman may have come to the throne a little earlier than c.625.

The Godavari Plates of Prithivīmūla (JBBRAS.XVI.116) states that a certain adhirāja Indra went to fight in company of other chiefs to overthrow a certain Indrabhattāarakavarman. The first prince has been identified with the Gaṅga prince of that name, and the second with the Vishnukundin king. (Suc. of the Sat. 113). The first identification is not very satisfactory, but if correct, then one feels tempted to connect the incident referred to with Pulakesin's invasion of the Vishnukundin dominions. But direct evidence in support of this view is completely lacking.

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and its capital was 30 li. The people of the land was courageous, thoroughly trust^(u)worthy and public spirited. (36a) The Aihole inscription says that the king of Kāñchī had opposed the rise of his power" (ākṛāntātmabalonnatim). This points to a previous conflict between the Chālukyas and the Pallavas, in which the former must have sustained some reverses. Pulakeśin thus had an old score to repay. He fell upon the Pallava king "with his sixfold forces, the hereditary troops and the rest, who raised spotless chowries, hundreds of flags, umbrellas and darkness, ^{and} who churned the enemy elated with sentiments of heroism and energy, he caused the splendour of the lord of the Pallavas, who had opposed the rise of his power to be obscured by the dust of his army, and to vanish behind the walls of Kāñchīpura". (37) The Pallavas seem to have suffered some discomfiture, but the Chālukya king failed to take the royal city of Kāñchī. In the Kasakkudi Plates of Nandivarman Pallava his ancestor Mahendravarman I, an elder contemporary of Pulakeśin, is credited with having annihilated his chief enemies (dvishatām viśeshāḥ) at Pullalūra, modern Pallur in the Conjeeverum taluk (38). It is thought by scholars that this refers to the repulsion of the Chālukya forces by the Pallava king in the vicinity of his capital (39). It is however ^{of}worth

(36a) Watters. II. 226

(37) EI. VI. p. 11

(38) S. I. I. II. 356.

(39) Heras, Studies in Pallava History, 32.

noting in this connection that the Pallava epigraphs usually show thorough acquaintance with the names of the Chālukya kings over whom the rulers of Kāñchi obtained their victories. The name of Pulakeśin II, or his title Vallabha, was certainly not unknown.

In view of this one feels inclined to suspect that the statement as to the triumph of Mahendravarman over his chief enemies actually refers to his victories over the Chālukyas, and not the rulers of the Tamil States who were also the hereditary foes of his family. In any case the matter cannot be regarded as altogether beyond doubt. There was, however, one vulnerable spot where the authority of the Pallavas could be easily undermined, and this the Chālukya king now proceeded to do. Mahendravarman's father Simhavarman is credited with having seized the country of the Cholas, embellished by the daughter of Kāvera, and also having vanquished the Kalabhra, Mālava, Pāndya and Simhala. (40) There are reasons to believe that the Pallava conquest of the Chola country was an actual reality (41), and their influence may have extended over the neighbouring states as well. Pulakeśin sought to reduce the power of his rival by carrying his onslaught into this region. Our record says that, wishing

(40) Kasakkudi Plates, verse 20 (S.I.I.II.3.356, II.5.510).

(41) SIE.AR, 1936-31, part 2, para.2.

to conquer the Cholas, the king crossed the Kāveri, and "caused great prosperity to the Cholas, Keralas, and Pāndyas, he being the hot-rayed sun to the hoar-frost - the army of the Pallavas". This statement suggests that Pulakesin released the three kingdoms from the shackles of servitude to the Pallavas, and at the same time probably extracted from them promises of allegiance to him. The Kuram Plates informs us that Narasimhavarman repeatedly defeated the Cholas, Keralas, Kalabhras and Pāndyas (42). He undoubtedly tried to reestablish his authority in the Far South of India, which broke away from the rule of his family during the period of tumult created by the Chālukyas king.

The Aihole inscription concludes that in 634-35 A.D. Pulakesin II, after conquering all the quarters, and having dismissed all kings full of honours, and having done homage to gods and Brahmins, and having entered the city of Vātāpi, was ruling the whole earth girt by the surging sea.

The campaigns of Pulakesin on the eastern coast of the Deccan seem to have been only of the nature of a digvijaya. Hiuen Tsang bears interesting testimony to the martial qualities of the king and his people. The

pilgrim says that "the inhabitants were proud-spirited and warlike, grateful for favours and revengeful for wrongs, self-sacrificing towards suppliants in distress and sanguinary to death with any who treated them insultingly. Their martial heroes who led the van of the army in battle went into conflict intoxicated, and their war-elephants were also made drunk before engagement. Relying on the strength of his heroes and elephants the king treated neighbouring countries with contempt". (43) After his great success in the war with Harsha the Chalukya king went out to demonstrate to the whole world the might of the military machine built up by his predecessors and by himself. To those who opposed him he was relentless; to those who submitted willingly he extended his friendship and protection. The ruler of Pishtapura was uprooted; the king of the Vishnukundins suffered severe punishment; even the powerful monarch of the Pallavas did not escape unhurt. The Kosalas and the Kalingas, the Cholas, Pandyas and the Keralas, on the other hand, were treated with kindness and consideration. An important result was the annexation of southern Kalinga to the Chalukya dominions. The governorship of the province went to his

(43) Watters. II. 239.

dear brother (priyānuja) Vishṇuwardhana, who was transferred from the Satara region to the east. The Kopparam Plates of the twenty-first year of the king say that Prithivī-duvarāja (identified with Vishṇuwardhana) "having defeated the circle of enemies by his own arm (which was) a churning stick of the wicked people of the Kali (age), which was skilled in daring (deeds) in many battles, (and) which was wielding drawn swords, has secured the kingdom to the lineage of his son". (44) It seems that the prince accompanied his elder brother on the latter's military warlike activities. As a reward he was placed in charge of the newly conquered territory, and was apparently invested with very wide powers. In the light of the account related in the Aihole inscription it is also possible to conjecture that Pulakesin was able to impose some sort of a loose authority, at least for a time, over the entire peninsula to the south of the Narmadā, excepting the Pallava dominion. This impression also receives confirmation from such statements as ambādhitrāyānivaritasāsana, (whose rule is bounded by the three oceans), pūrvāparāmbunātha (lord of the eastern and the western ocean), dakṣiṇāpathapṛithivyāśvāmī (lord of the (whole) country of the region of the south), chaturudādhimekhalopārjitarājyaśrī (who has

acquired the sovereignty of the (whole earth) girt about by the four oceans), etc. found in the inscriptions of his own time. (45) Hiuen Tsang says that "the benevolent sway of this king reached far and wide, and the vassals served him with perfect loyalty". (46)

The ambitious and enterprising Chālukya king could hardly be expected to acquiesce for long in the existence of the rival kingdom of the Pallavas when all others have bowed down before his superior might. He was therefore determined to uproot the king of Kāñchi. Sometime after 634-35 A.D., and possibly after 641 A.D., when Hiuen Tsang saw him at the height of his power, he undertook a fresh expedition against the Pallavas, and appeared almost near the gate of their capital. But by this time the limit of his success was reached, and he fell a victim to his consuming ambition and over-confidence. We learn from two Pallava records that Narasimhavarman, the son and successor of Mahendravarman, inflicted severe defeats upon Pulakesin II at the battles of Pariyāla, Manimaṅgala and Śūramāra etc. and forced him to turn his back. (47) It is possible that all these engagements were fought in course of a single campaign, which was highly contested on both sides, and in which the Pallava king was able to put to rout the whole

(45) cf: Aihole Inscription, verse 35; ABORI, XIII. 305; EI. V. 6ff.

(46) Watters. II. 239.

(47) EII. 152. I, JA. VIII. 217.

Chalukya forces by inflicting upon them defeat after defeat until their leader was compelled to take recourse to flight. Hultzsch had drawn attention to a passage of the Mahāvamsa from which we learn that the Ceylonese prince Manavarman lived at the court of Narasimha and helped him to crush Vallabha, ~~and~~ (Pulakesin II). (48) Apparently encouraged by this turn of fortune Narasimha conceived the bold plan of leading a counter-expedition against Vātāpi, the capital of his implacable enemy. The Tamil poem Periyapurāṇam records that the leadership of the expedition was entrusted to Paranjōti, otherwise known as Siru-Tonda. (49) Epigraphic evidence however, suggests that the Pallava king himself in all probability directed the entire operation. The effort of the Pallava king was fully crowned with success. We learn from the Kṛṣṇa Plates that Narasimha "destroyed Vātāpi, just as the pitcher-born (Agastya) (destroyed the demon) Vātāpi". (50) Another inscription says that after defeating the enemy he took from ^{him} them the pillar of victory standing in the centre of ^{his} their capital. (51) In commemoration of his valiant deed the king of the Pallavas assumed the proud title of Vātāpikonda ~~and~~ "the seizer of Vātāpi". (51a) The victorious monarch

(48) SII.II.iii.343.

(49) Gopalan, Pallavas, p.98.

(50) SII.I.152. cf. also S.I.I.II.iii.356; 366ff.

(51) S.I.I.II.508,511. (51a) EI.III.276.

himself, or his general, left an inscription on a rock at Vātāpi itself, to proclaim the story of the capture of the city by the great hero amongst the Pallavas (Mahāmalla) in the thirteenth (?) year of his reign, which seems to have fallen some time between 641 and 647 A.D. (52)

It is generally supposed that after the crushing defeat suffered by Pulakesin II at the hands of the Pallavas which culminated in the sack of his capital, the Chālukya rule in the Deccan suffered an eclipse for a short period. In the Karnul Plates of Vikramāditya I, dated in the third year of his reign (c.657?A.D.) it is claimed that "he acquired for himself the regal fortune of his father, which had been concealed by a triad of kings" (sva-guroś-śriyam-avanipati-tritay-āntaritam-

(52) BK.I.I.Intro.p 1; Ins.No.I. From the non-mention of Pulakesin's name in the Kaira grant of Vijayarāja, dated 643 A.D., Fleet conjectured the possibility that the king died before the record was issued. But the evidence has lost much of its force since the discovery of other records from the same region which do not mention the name of reigning sovereign even after the restoration of Chālukya rule by Vikramāditya I, whose sway undoubtedly extended over the territory of Lātā.

ātmasāt-kṛityā) (53). This statement is also found repeated in some other records of the time of Vikramāditya I himself, and of his successors. Fleet understood by the phrase avanipatīya^{with} the three Pallava kings Narasimhavarman I, Mahendravarman II and Paramesvaravarman I, who are mentioned as having suffered defeats at the hands of Vikramāditya in some later records of the king. The distinguished scholar arrived at the conclusion that "the Chālukya sovereignty remained in abeyance during the remainder of the reign of Narasimha, under whom the Pallavas took and devastated Badami, the whole of the time of Mahendra II, and part of the reign of Paramesvara; and that it was by overthrowing Paramesvara I that Vikramāditya recovered the kingdom". (54) Hultzsch however took the phrase under discussion to refer to the three Tamil kingdoms of Chola, Pāṇḍya and Kerala, and this view has been supported recently by R.S.Panchamukhi. (55) It is now known for certain that the accession of Vikramāditya took place before July 655 A.D. (56) The acceptance of Fleet's interpretation entails the necessity of compressing a part of the reign of Narasimha, the whole of the reign of Mahendra II and a part of the reign of Paramesvara I

(53) JBBRAS. XVI. 225, 235.

(54) DKD. 362.

(55) EI. IX. 101 n; EI. XXII. 26.

(56) EI. IX. 102.

more or less within the space of a decade. This does not seem very probable unless under exceptional circumstances. We learn from the Mahāvamsa that Narasimha helped the Ceylonese prince Mānavarman to regain his throne. This event is placed by Hultzsch in 668 A.D., and by Dubreuil in 660 A.D. (57) If either of these two scholars is right then the reign of Narasimha alone extended beyond the date of the accession of Vikramāditya I. Lastly we should also note that avanipatitraya of line 15 of the Kurnul Plates are referred to as rājyatrāya in the next line, and there cannot be any doubt that the latter phrase is the same as traīrājya found in the inscriptions of Vikramāditya's successors, and which is equated by Fleet himself with Chōla, Pāndya and Kerala. (58) This seems to prove that the final blow to Pulakesin's power was given by the three Tamil states. The enemies apparently overran the lower parts of the Chālukya dominions and left the outlying provinces in the north in comparative peace. In the whirlwind of this fierce invasion the stately figure of Pulakesin II was for ever lost. In the present state of our knowledge it is not possible to determine when this calamity befell the Chālukya monarch.

Some scholars think that Pulakesin II, at the height of his power, entered into diplomatic relations with Khusru II, king of Persia, and in 625-26 sent a complimentary

(57) EI. XXII. 287

(58) ~~EL. XXII. 287~~ JRAS. 1905, p. 293. For other views see EI. XXII. 27; Annals of Oriental Research, Vol. V. part II. p. 4.

embassy to the Persian court. In return he also received an embassy from Khusru II. This view, however, rests on evidence of an extremely dubious character; and the matter is far from certain.⁽⁵⁹⁾ Yet we must not forget that in several records of the family Pulakesin's grandson Vinayāditya is credited with having made the Pārasikas tributary to his father Vikramāditya I. (60) It is obviously a gross exaggeration. But the appearance of the Pārasikas in the Chālyukya records of this period certainly requires an explanation which we are unable to offer at present.

The external events detailed above have completely cast into the shade the internal history of the reign of Pulakesin, and our information in this respect is extremely meagre. The Aihole inscription, as we have already seen, says that the king ruled over the three Mahārāshtrakas, consisting of ninety-nine thousand villages. (61) ~~The personal sway of the Chālyukyas does not seem to have extended beyond this.~~ The northern limit of this ^{area} kingdom was marked by the river Narmadā. To the south it seems to have bordered on the territories of the Gaṅgas and the Ālupas. On the west lay the Western Sea. The eastern boundary cannot be determined with any amount

(59) For an analysis of the evidences, see J. I. H. Sept. 1925. p. 29f. (60) C. V. Vaidya thinks that these comprised Vidarbha, Mahārāshtra and Kuntala (HMHI. I. 275). Mirashi also includes Vidarbha within the limits of the three Mahārāshtrakas (EI. XXIV. 123). See also ABORI. XXIII. 494ff. (62) Watters. II. 239-40.

of precision. It apparently included the western districts of the Nizam's dominions.* The metropolis of the kingdom was of course Vātapi. Hiuen Tsang seems to mention a second capital which according to some scholars was located at Nasik or not very far from it. (62) About the year 615 A.D. or so, the king seem, to have appointed his younger brother Vishnuvardhana (alias Bittarāja) as Y^vvarāja, and placed him in charge of a province around about the Satara region which included a place called Kuramarathī or Kuramarathyā and a district called Śrīnilayabhoga to the south of the river Bhīmā. (63) The epithet Vishamasiddhi applied to the prince suggests that even at this time he had made his mark as a great hero. He is further described as possessed of religious insight (dharmajña), grateful (kritajña), and one whose lotus feet were adorned by jewels in the crowns of numerous samantas who bowed down (at his feet). (64) We have already seen that Vishnuvardhana was transferred to the east and was placed in charge of Pishtapura at a later period of Pulakesin's reign. Śrīvallabha-Senānāda, the maternal uncle of the king, who belonged to the Sendraka family, seems to have been administering a district called the Avaretikā-vishaya. (65) Another provincial governor

* The province of southern Kalinga, containing around Pishtapura, was added to this area after the eastern campaign of the king.

(62) Watters, II. 239-40.

(64) Ibid.

(63) IA. XII. 303ff.

(65) BI. III. 50ff.

whose name has come down to us was Satyāśraya-Dhruvarāja Indravarman of the Mahā-Bappura-vamśa. (66) He may have belonged to the same family from which the consort of Pulakesin I came and as such seems to have been another near relation of the royal family who was elevated to the position of a provincial governor. His appointment, however, dates back to the time of Kirtivarman I. At the opening of Pulakesin II's reign we find him stationed at Revatīdvīpa and administering four vishayas and maṇḍalas which apparently included Revatīdvīpa itself, the Iridige vishaya (Savantwadi State and part of Ratnagiri district), southern half of the Koṅkana vishaya (major part of the Ratnagiri state) and probably Banavāsi maṇḍala, from which the Kadambas were uprooted about this time. If we can rely upon the Kaira grant of 643 A.D., then Vijayarāja of the Chālukya family was another provincial governor who was appointed to rule over Lāta by Pulakesin II. (67) Finally it may be noted that the Kasare ^{and Bagumra} plates of the Sendraka prince named Nikumbha-Allasakti shows that he was ruling over the west Khandesh region. (68) He mentions two of his

(66) JBBRAS, X. 365ff; DKD. 355.

(67) IA. VII. 248ff; ~~DKD. 355~~ B.G. I. I. p. 111; DKD. 359.

(68) BISMJ, XX. p. 66ff; XXI. 69ff; New Indian Antiquary, vol. I, p. 747; IA XVIII. 265ff.

predecessors in his inscriptions in 653 A.D. The family probably rose to power in the northern districts of the Chālukya territory under the patronage of Pulakesin II. (69) One of the main principles of government instituted by the king appears to have been to place the provinces under the charge of men who were connected with the ruling family by ties of blood or matrimony. This policy was also followed by his immediate successor.

Like some other rulers of ancient India the Chālukya king found time, amidst his warlike activities and various preoccupations with administrative details, to derive pleasure from association with learned men. An important luminary of his court was undoubtedly Ravikirti, who has been placed by a very high authority "in the very front rank of court-poets and writers of Prasastis, who was thoroughly conversant with the rules of the Aṅgīkārasāstra, and works of India's greatest poets." (70)

The reign of Pulakesin II closed under tragic circumstances. Yet he has been acclaimed by modern writers as the greatest among the early Chālukya kings. For more than three decades he walked like a titan on the stage of South Indian history. Such was the impression he left upon the minds of his descendants that even the remotest among them took special pride in calling him the

(69) A spurious Lakshmeshwar (contd). (70) EI. VI. 3.

ornament of the family of Satyāśraya (Satyāśrayakula-tilakah), and the achievements of the king were metamorphosed by a loving posterity into the legends of Satyāśraya of Ayodhyā. Epigraphic records of his time bear witness to his qualities of strength (śakti) energy (utsāha) and good counsel (mantra); his statesmanship (naya) and courtesy (vinaya); his keen intellect which was capable of discerning the meaning of various hores (sāstras), and his proficiency in destroying the circle of opposing enemies. He is eulogised for the respect he showed to gods, Brahmins, preceptors and the aged; for the honour he did to the learned, the favour he conferred upon those who served him, and the punishment he meted out to the wicked. The ascertained facts of his life and career show that these descriptions are not merely a string of hollow praises manufactured by flattering court-poets or unmerited compliments coined by self-seeking panegyrists.

(69) (contd) inscription (IA.VII.110) seems to speak of another feudatory family of the Sendraka race who were in existence in the time of Pulakesin II. cf. also DKD.292.

APPENDIX I

Much controversy has raged round the question of the date of the Harsha-Pulakesin war (1). We have already seen that according to the Hyderabad Plates the Chālukya king assumed the title of Paramesvara "by defeating hostile kings who had applied themselves (or a hostile king who had applied himself) to the contest of a hundred battles" (samara-sata-saṃghaṭṭa-para-nripati-parājay-opalabdha-paramesvar-āpara-nāmadheyah), sometime before 612 A.D. The records of his sons, grandson and those who came after them repeat the statement that he acquired it "by defeating the glorious Harshavardhana, the warlike lord of all the region of the north" (samara-samsakte-sakal-ottarā-path-esvara-Srī-Harshavardhana-parājay-opalabdha-paramesvara-sabdālankṛitasya- (or parājay-opalabdha-paramesvar-āpara-nāma-dheyasya...)). Taking the two pieces of evidence together, Fleet not unnaturally thought that the defeat of Harshavardhana took place sometime before 612 A.D., probably about 609-10 A.D. (2). In support of Fleet's conjecture it may be argued that no southern king before Pulakesin II is known to have the title paramesvara; on the other hand it was very common in the north, and in the Harshacharita of Hānabhatta,

(1) Cf. DKD. 351; EHI. 4th ed. 353; R.K. Mookerji, Harsha, 36; C.M. Vaidya, HMHI. vol. 1. p. 13; Tripathi, Kanauj, 124f; Altekar, in ABORI, XIII. 300ff; IHQ. VI. 449ff. (2) DKD. 351. The spurious Kandalgaon Plates, dated 5th year of the reign of Pulakesin (contd.)

and several Gurjara records, it is actually found applied to Harshavardhana (3). The acceptance of Fleet's date however has its difficulties. Thus one cannot be absolutely sure that the text of the Hyderabad Plates was not emended by later writers to lay special emphasis upon an achievement of Pulakesin II, which they apparently regarded as the most glorious of all, and the only one which, from their point of view deserved preservation from total oblivion. It is also pointed out in this connection that both Harsha and Pulakesin had to spend the early years of their reigns to consolidate their position in their respective territories, and to secure their heritage from the attacks of enemies near home. Under the circumstance it is extremely doubtful if Harsha had either the inclination or the opportunity to launch a distant expedition, or that Pulakesin was free or strong enough to accept such a mighty challenge from the northern king at the very opening of his career. The statement of Hiuen Tsang that before marching against Pulakesin, Harsha gathered troops from the Five Indies, and summoned the best leaders from all countries", leaves the impression that about this time

(2) contd. II, states that the king obtained the title Paramesvara by defeating Harsha, But its evidence is not admissible.

(3) Harshacharita (Cal.Ed.), p.112; Tawney's translation, p.40 Nausari Copper Plate grants of Jayabhata III, IA.XIII.77.

his position in the north was absolutely secure. This would point to a date subsequent to the death of Sasāṅka, king of Gauda and the inveterate enemy of the Puṅgyabhuti family, who is known to have been alive till 619 A.D. The Koppāram Plates of Pulakesin dated in the 21st year of his reign, show that about 629-30 A.D. the king had already finished, or was engaged, in his campaigns on the eastern coast of the Deccan. These undertakings are mentioned in the Aihole inscription after the war with Harsha. In the present state of our knowledge, therefore, the date of the Harsha-Pulakesin war ~~is~~ may be assigned to the period between 619 and 629-30 A.D. Curiously enough the Chinese encyclopaedist Ma-twan-lin records that between 618 and 627 A.D., there were great troubles in India, and "the king Śilāditya made war and fought such battles as had never been before". (4) On the basis of this statement Smith referred the date of the war to c. 620 A.D. (5) But in view of the fact that Sasāṅka may well have lived after 619 A.D. we should perhaps push the date a few years later than that proposed by the distinguished scholar. (6)

A few words now about the probable date of the eastern campaign of Pulakesin II. We have assigned it to some time after the war with Harsha. Our authority for

(4) JRAS. NS. IV. (1869-60), p. 86; JASB. VI. p. 68. Tripathi, Kanaujī, 128n. (5) EHI. 4th. ed. 323.

(6) Altekar and Tripathi favour the date c. 630 A.D. But

this is the Aihole inscription, which we believe relates the events of Pulakesin's career in a chronological order, rather than in a haphazard manner. Verses 32-33 of the epigraph imply that the latest incidents mentioned in it (i.e. the fight with the Pallavas ^{and} ~~the~~ the incursion into the Far South) were not far removed from the time when it was composed. If we are correct in our surmise, then a date close to the date of the Kopparam Plates (629-30 A.D.) may be accepted as supplying the clue to our quest. Objection to this view may be raised on the ground that Fleet has determined the beginning of the rule of Kubja-Vishnuvardhana as his brother's ~~viceroy~~ ^{viceroy} in 615 A.D. But there is no special reason to think that the prince was stationed at Pishtapura in the same year. On the other hand the Satara grant clearly shows that in that year, or it may be the next, he was still continuing in his office in the region round about Satara. The period of eighteen years assigned to Vishnuvardhana in the eastern records, in this case, presumably commenced from his election as Yuvarāja and appointment ~~to~~ ^{as} governorship of a province. The example of Dhruvarāja-Indravarman may be cited to show that Chālukya governors did some times date their records from the time of their elevation to office. Attention may ~~be drawn~~ also be drawn in this connection to the fact that the chronology of the eastern Chālukyas, as settled by Fleet

has been found to be faulty, and the first year of Vishnuvardhana's rule in Pishtapura may have corresponded to either 624 or 633 A.D.*

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* Sincar - Successors of the Śātavāhanas, p.398f.

CHAPTER V

THE SUCCESSORS OF PULAKESIN II

I. Vikramāditya I.

At the death of Pulakesin II the Chālukyan kingship was faced with a crisis far more serious than that with which the great king himself had to deal on the eve of his accession. The seat of the Chālukya metropolis, as we have seen, was rudely pillaged and plundered by a ruthless enemy, and probably not long after this, the southern provinces of the kingdom passed under the occupation of a confederacy of fierce and greedy kings who apparently tyrannised over the subject population, and having no fear of the wrath of gods, enriched themselves with property dedicated to temples and brahmins. The outlook of the political fortune of the Chālukyas was indeed dark, and its redemption required a man of great courage, of unbounded energy, of infinite patience and of steadfast determination. Such a man was found in Vikramāditya I, a younger son of Pulakesin II. (1) Before proceeding to give an account of his activities it is necessary to say a few words about his relations with two of his brothers.

Pulakesin II had at least four sons; Adityavarman,

(1) He is described in inscriptions as recovering the ancestral kingdom with the help of his intelligence and courage alone (EI. XIX. 62ff).

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Chandrāditya, Vikramāditya and Jayasimha. Of these Chandrāditya is known to have been the elder, and Jayasimha the younger brother of Vikramāditya. Nothing is known about the relative place of Ādityavarman among the princes. Fleet conjectured that he was most probably the eldest son of Pulakesin, and we are inclined to agree with him. (2) A further point to be noted in this connection is that, excepting Jayasimha, all the other brothers are given the paramount title of Mahārājādhirāja, though in the records of Vikramāditya and of his descendants he alone is represented as recovering and succeeding to the royal fortune of his father. What then is the precise significance of the assumption of the title of Mahārājādhirāja by the other two brothers? Ādityavarman is known to us from a Karnul grant, dated in the first year of his reign. (3) He is described in it as the dear or favourite son of Pulakesin II, and as "possessing the supreme rule over the whole circuit of earth, which had been overcome by the strength of his own arms and prowess". The character of his rule is indicated by his title of Mahārājādhirāja which is coupled with the epithet Paramesvara. There cannot be any doubt that he was a

(2) JBBRAS. XVI. 224; DKD. 367.

(3) JBBRAS. XVI. 223, 233; IA. XI. 66f; DKD. 367.

sovereign ruler, owing allegiance to none. The findspot of the record suggests that he was in effective possession of a portion of the ancient Nalavādivishaya. Commenting upon the evidence furnished by the record Fleet remarked that Adityavarman "either made the first attempt to restore the sovereignty and failed, or else that, after the restoration of Vikramāditya I., he endeavoured to wrest the succession from his younger brother". He regarded the former supposition as less probable than the latter, "because if that was the course of events, there would have been no substantial reason for omitting Adityavarman's name in all the subsequent records of the family". (4) In a set of spurious Kurnul Plates ascribed to the time of Vikramāditya I, "which may have been concocted not long after the period to which it refers itself", it is stated that he became the lord of the entire circle of earth by conquering all his rivals to the throne (sarvān dāyādān vijitya) (5) This, if true, may refer to a conflict between Vikramāditya and Adityavarman. But the plates in question appear to be a very clumsy and incorrect copy of the genuine grants of the former, and their evidence cannot be safely relied upon to solve controversial points.

(4) DKD. 367.

(5) JBBRAS. XVI. 240f, line 8.

The mere omission of Āditya's name in later records does not necessarily imply that he had hostile relations with his brother. (6) As a matter of fact in the present state of our knowledge the view that Ādityavarman did recover a small part of his ancestral dominions and ruled during the interval between the death of Pulakesin II and the accession of Vikramāditya I cannot be entirely precluded. The more splendid achievement of his younger brother apparently cast into shade the comparatively small success achieved by him in recovering his heritage.

The case of Chandrāditya seems to have been different. Our information about him is derived from two copper-plate charters, issued by his wife Vijayabhāṭṭarīkā, for granting lands at the villages of Kochchuraka (Kochrem in Vengurlapet, Ratnagiri district) and Tarakāgāhara (probably somewhere near Nerur in the Sawantwadi State) (7). In one of them he is styled Mahārājādhirāja, but in the other, dated possibly in the fifth year of Vikramāditya, he is called Mahārāja, which, as Fleet points out, at this time indicated a subordinate rank. (8) In both the records again pointed reference is made to the recovery of the ancestral fortune of the Chālukyas by Vikramāditya and the assumption of the sovereign titles by him. We should also notice that the significant

(6) for analogous cases, cf. PHAI, 4th. ed., 494n.

(7) IA.VIII.163ff; VII.45ff.

(8) DKD. 365.

epithet of Paramesvara is not applied to Chandrāditya in either of the two records. It may, therefore be safely concluded that he, if he was alive at the time when his wife issued her grants, accepted his brother as his suzerain, and under him was administering the Iridigevishaya together with a part of the southern Konkana. The title Mahārājādhirāja may, however, indicate that he considered himself, at least for a time, as the legitimate successor Ādityavarman after the latter's death, but eventually renounced his claims to the throne in favour of his warlike and able younger brother.

The early achievements of Vikramāditya I are recorded in the Karnul Plates of his third regnal year (657 A.D.) It is said that he "at the head of many famous battles, assisted by none but (his) noble steed Chitrakantha and the edge of his glittering, spotless and sharp sword conquered would-be-conquerors"; and "having gained for ^{himself} ~~himself~~ the royalty of his father which had been concealed by the triad of kings, caused the burden of the whole kingdom to be governed by (himself) alone". For the increase of his merit and fame he also confirmed by his own mouth the property of temples and the grants to Brahmins which were destroyed by those three kings. There is ample evidence to show that Vikramāditya did indeed rule over what was possibly known as the "three

Mahārāshtrakas". In the third, and again the tenth, year of his reign he made land grants in the Nalavādi-vishaya (9). An inscription recording a grant of land in the village Muṭṭalūru, dated in the 27th year of the reign, has been found at Dimmagudi, Gooty taluk, Annapur district. (a) The authority of the king was acknowledged by subordinate rulers stationed at Lāta, Nāsikavishaya, Western Khandesh, Pūrī-Konkana 14000, Sthānaka, and Southern Konkanā, and the Irīdige vishaya. (10) The reference to the Gāngas and the Ālupas as hereditary servants in the inscriptions of Vinayāditya suggests that they also might have rendered homage to his predecessor. On the other hand, we should note that there is no evidence to show that Vikramāditya exercised any authority over the Kosalas, Kalingas or the Vengimandala. Even the rulers of the collateral branch at Pishtapura seem to have declared their independence.

Some scholars think that in regaining his paternal throne Vikramāditya received substantial help from the Ganga king Durvinīta, whose Gummaredipur Plates are assigned by Fleet to about 650 A.D., and whom Dubreuil places between 605-650 A.D. (11) Attention is drawn in

(9) JBBRAS. XVI. 225, 235; IA. X. 244; JBBRAS. XVI. 227, 238f.

(10) (9a) SIE. 364 of 1921. (10) see below.

(11) D. C. Sircar, Suc. of the Sat., 302. For the date of the Gummaredipur Plates, see, MAS. AR., 1920-21, pp. 27ff. For Dubreuil's date for Durvinīta, see AHD. 109.

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this connection to an inscription which records that "Seizing in the field of battle Kaḍuvetti (i.e., the Pallava king) who was celebrated as a Ravana on the earth, and setting up his (own's) daughter's son (identified with Vikramāditya), he became formidable in the world in the hereditary kingdom of Jayasimha Vallabha (identified with the founder of the early Chālukya line); what a terror was the might of arm of Durvinīta".(12) The suggestion ^{se}deserves attention, but its final acceptance must depend upon positive proof showing that the Kodunjeruṅṅa grant of Avinīta, father of Durvinīta, written by Apāpa, lord of Nānapura, identified with Apāpa the writer of the Penukonda grant of c.475 A.D., is definitely spurious. (13)

Throughout the whole of his reign Vikramāditya seems to have been engaged in a formidable struggle with the Pallavas and the rulers of the three Tamil States of the Far South. The recovery of his ancestral kingdom from his southern neighbours was only the opening phase of this long-drawn contest. The Goḍval and the Savanura Plates of the king inform us that he wiped away the glory of Narasimha I caused the destruction of the power of

(12) EC.VIII.Nagar 35 of 1077 A.D.

(13) MAS.AR., 1924, pp.15ff, 67ff.

Mahendra II, and subdued Isvara (Paramesvaravarmān I) by polity. (14) The statement that Vikramāditya wiped away the glory of Narasimha may simply imply that he completely undid the work of the Pallava king by recovering and rebuilding the capital city of the Chālukyas. The Talamanchi Plates, however, show that in the sixth year of his reign, in 660 A.D. a date which probably fell in the reign of Narasimha, Vikramāditya made land grants in the Nellore district. (15) We should also perhaps assign to this time a hero-stone inscription found at Annavaram¹agraharam, Darsi taluk, Nellore district which states that "in the reign of the Illustrious Mahārāja Vikramāditya, who was born in the glorious Chālukya family, impediment having arisen to (the enjoyment of) the earlier holding (pūrvavṛitti) which was the gift of the Kāduvetti, Vaddamayya 'the armour of Brahmin' and set up (a sculpture of) Annuvaya." (16) The "gift of Kāduvetti" in the above record clearly implies that the Nellore district formed part of the Pallava kingdom. At the time of the setting up of the sculpture however the territory seem to have been in possession of Vikramāditya. The Talamanchi Plates also point to the

(14) EI. X. 1004; BISM& (Oct. 1940), 73 ff.

(15) EI. IX. 98ff.

(16) SIE. AR. 1933-34. App. B. No. 183, also part II. para. 2.

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same conclusion. In the present state of our knowledge it may not be unreasonable to surmise that the Chālukya king got possession of the territory in question by defeating the Pallava monarch Narasimhavarman II. The latter's successor Mahendravarman II appears as a shadowy figure, and apparently had a very short reign. The only fact known about him is that he thoroughly enforced the sacred law of the castes and the orders. This suggests that he could not claim any significant achievement to his credit. The Nausari Plates of Śryāśraya Śīlāditya, dated 671 A.D., mentions that Vikramāditya overcame the Pallavas with unrepulsed power. (17) Future discovery can alone show if we have here a reference to the Chālukya king's victory over Mahendravarman II, or his immediate predecessor or successor. However that may be, within three years of this date Vikramāditya started on a fresh expedition to the south. Our information regarding this new venture of the king is derived from his Godval and the Savanura Plates. It is claimed that in the course of this campaign he defeated Īśvarapota^ārja (Paramesvaravarman I) and seized the city of Kāñchī, which was like the girdle of the southern region, and had unsurmountable large ramparts

(17) EI. VIII. 229ff.

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and an unfathomable great moat to protect it. (18) The inscriptions of Vinayāditya state that after taking Kāñchi his father forced the Pallava ruler, who had bowed down to none, to do obeisance to him. (19) The destruction of Vātāpi and the wrong done to the Chālukya family, and to Pulakesin II in particular, were thus avenged by the son of that king. Elated by his successes over the lord of Kāñchi, Vikramāditya pushed on further to the south, no doubt in order to punish the kings of the Tamil land. On the 25th April, 674 A.D., we find him encamped at Uragapura (Uraiyur near Trichinopoly), and making land-grants in the Cholikavishaya. (20) We learn from the records of his son that, by the thunderbolt of his prowess, he subdued the Pāndya, Chola and Kerala kings. (21) The Nerus Plates of Vijayāditya add the Kalabhra to this list. (22) The account related above is also referred to in the records of the feudatory branch of Lāta. The Surat plates of Śryāśraya dated 692 A.D. describe Vikramāditya as the churner of the lord of Kāñchi and the seizer of the kingdoms of the three kings (Kāñchīpurīśa-Pallavānvaya-pramāthi-parigrihita-trairājya-rājyah) (23) The Nausari Plates of Avanijanāśraya Pulakesin

(18) EI. X. 100f; BISMJ. XXI. 73ff. (19) e.g., Jejuri Plates, EI. XIX. 62ff. (20) Godval and the Savanura Plates.

(21) e.g. Jejuri Plates. (22) IA. IX. 126ff. Section 225f.

(23) Vienna. Or. Congress, Ariyan. *Ant. Ind.*, p. 225.

state that he conquered the three hereditary kingdoms of Čhēra, Chola and Pāṇḍya (~~vijita-Čhēra-Čhola-pāṇḍya-kramāgata-rājya-traya~~). (24)

There is however another side of the picture. The Pallava version is preserved in the Kuram, Velurpalaiyam and Udayendiram Plates, and the Kailasnath Temple inscription of Mahendravarman III. (25) The first mentioned record informs us that Paramēśvara I Ġunaided, made Vikramāditya, whose army consisted of several lakshas, take to flight covered only with a rag". The second one says that the Pallava king crushed the conceit of (his)enemies (and (was) a sun in destroying the darkness which was the army of the Čhālukya king." The third record gives us the information that the battle between the Čhālukya and the Pallava kings was fought on this occasion at Peruvallanūr, which has been identified with the village of the same name in the Lalgudi taluk of the Trichinopoly district, about 12 miles from the city of Trichinopoly. A poetic description of the battle is found in the Kuram Plates, which shows that fighting between the rival forces was very severe and highly contested. Heras thinks the defeat of the Čhālukya army took place after the issuing of the Godval Plates, and when Vikramāditya was still at Uragapura. (26) The site of the battle, which was not far from the Čhola city, to some extent supports this conclusion.

(24)ibid.230f.

(25)Relevant passages will be found in Heras' Studies in Pallava History, p.41.

(26)Studies in Pallava History, by Heras, pp.42f.

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But in this case we shall have to admit that the Chālukya king's claim of success against the Tamil States is either false or highly exaggerated, for he sustained defeat at the hands of his Pallava rival even before he could complete his campaigns against the Cholas. On the other hand, the fact that the king's victories are mentioned not only in the formal charters of the family, but also appear in the records of a feudatory family, suggest that there was some truth in the Chālukya version. Under the circumstances we are inclined to think that Paramesvara obtained his victory when Vikramāditya was on his way back. This suggestion allows the former the necessary time to prepare for the onslaught on the invading army.

Paramesvaravarman I seems to have emulated the example of his grandfather by leading an expedition into the Chālukya territory soon after defeating the enemy near home. A Conjeeverum inscription of his son Rajasimha informs us that Ugradanda-Paramesvara destroyed the city of Ranarasika (i.e. Vikramāditya I). (27) In the inscriptions of Vinayāditya it is stated that at the command of his father he arrested the swelling power of the three kingdoms and of the lord of Kāñchi, ^{and} gladdened his heart by bringing tranquility throughout the whole

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territory. (28) This statement seems to refer to the conditions prevailing within the Chālukya kingdom after the foreign inroads, and the success of the crown prince in retrieving the situation. The Tamil states seem to have fought side by side with the Pallavas against the common enemy on this occasion. The Nerur plates of Vijayāditya add that Vinayāditya, after defeating the Tamil kings and the lord of Kāñchi, made the ^{Keralas} ~~Kāleras~~, Pārasikas and Simhalas tributary to his father. (29) But this appears to be a later addition to the original text found in the records of his father, and is obviously an exaggeration.

In carrying on the arduous task of the government, and in securing the protection of the kingdom from enemies, both internal and external, the Chālukya king received immense help from some of his closest blood relations. We have just now mentioned the part played by his son. His grandson Vijayāditya claims that when his grand-father was engaged in his southern expeditions, he rooted out all the troubles that beset the kingdom, which Fleet interpretes to mean that he established and maintained peace in the home provinces. (30) The administration and deference of the important provinces of Lāṭa and Nāsikya-vishaya, which commanded the routes between Western India

(28) E.I. XIX. 62.75

(29) IA. IX. 1261. Heras thinks that the expedition of Vinayāditya may not have been altogether different from the one of his father (Studies in Pallava History, pp. 48ff) (30) DKD. 363.

and the Deccan, were entrusted to the king's younger brother Jayasimha. The choice was amply justified. In his Nasik Plates of 666 A.D. the prince claims that he totally defeated and destroyed the whole army of a certain Vajjada in the country between the Mahi and the Narmada. (31) Mirashi identifies the latter with Vajrata who along with Harsha, is mentioned as having suffered defeat at the hands of the Chālukya forces in Rāshtrakūta inscriptions. (32) The Nasik Plates suggest that he ruled somewhere in western India, but his name has not yet been found in any north Indian record. The coupling of the name of Vajrata with that of Harsha in Rāshtrakūta records implies that the former must have been a formidable enemy of the Chālukyas. By defeating him Jayasimha proved himself to be a worthy son of the conqueror of the lord of the whole of the Uttarāpatha, and apparently for the services thus rendered, his fortune was further advanced by his royal brother. (33) We have already noticed that the king's elder brother Chandrāditya

(31) G.H. Khare, Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan, Vol. I., 12ff. (32) D.R. Bhandarkar Volume, p. 56ff. (33) cf. the expression jyāyasā bhrātā samabhiwardhita vibhūtir Dhārāśraya Śrī Jayasimhavarma in the Nausari Plates of Śīlāditya (EI. VIII. 229ff).

was possibly administering the southern Koṅkana, and probably the Iridigevishaya (on the western coast. If the spurious Sanjan Plates are to be believed, another provincial governor in this direction seems to have been the king's uncle Buddhavarasa, who was stationed in Avarantavishaya and made land-grants in the Dvādasa-grāma on the sea-shore. (34) We learn from a record discovered at Anjheri (in Nasik District) that a certain Svāmichandra of the Hariśchandra family was the ruler of Puri-Koṅkana consisting of fourteen thousand villages during this reign. He is described as being treated by the king as his own son (svaputranirviśesho). (35) He must have been a very trusty official of the king, and regarded as almost a member of the ruling family. The western Khandesh region and the adjoining territories continued to be in the hands of the Sendrakas, and Vikramāditya's contemporaries in this region were Nikumbha-Allasakti and his son Jayasakti. (36)

(34) EI. XIV. 144ff.

(35) EI. XXV. 230.

(36) It is now known that in the name Nikumbhallasakti, ^{Nikumbha} ~~Milaka~~ is only a Giruda (EI. XXV. 167n; New Indian Antiquary, I. 747). The following records of the Sendraka feudatories of Khandesh are now known: (a) Kasare (West Khandesh) Plates of Nikumbhallasakti (sic) grant of land in the Pippahakhetagrāma (there were several villages of the same name in West Khandesh), ed. by G. H. Khare in BISM. XX. No. 4. pp. 66ff.

(b) Dhulia (also called Nagda) Plates of Nikumbhallasakti, recording grant of land by the prince while encamped near the lake in the vicinity of the austerity grove at Kāyavatāra in the village Susthihakholi, lying to the south of the hill Baruvana and included in the Nandipuradvārivishaya. Kāyavatāra has been identified by the editor of the grant G. H. Khare with Karwan, and by others with Kavi. Nandipuradvāri is Nadurvar in west Khandesh. (New Indian Antiquary, Vol. I. (cont

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II Vinayāditya and Vijayāditya

The reign of Vikramāditya seems to have terminated some time between 678 and 681 A.D. and he was succeeded by his son Vinayāditya. (37) The grants of this king are found to have been made in the Uttara-devishaya situated in Chemūliya (Chaul in the Kolaba district (38); in the Sātimālabhoga in the Pālayatthānavishaya (region round about Phaltan in the Satara district) (39); in the village Torave, probably Torveh in the Bijapur District (40); in the Edevolalvishaya or bhāga in the Banavāsimaṇḍala; (41) in the Velahinārubbhāga on the north of the Kṛishṇavernā (42); in Togochochhedugrāma (modern

(36) contd. p.747).

(c) Bagumra Plates of Nikumbhallasakti (IA.XVIII.265f). recording grant of the village of Balisa (Wanesa or Wanisa south-east of Ten in the Baroda Territory) in the Treyannāh-āravishaya (identified with Ten, near Bardoli).

(d) Mundakheda Plates of Jayasakti, son of Allasakti, issued from Jayapuradvāri identified with Jeur, 6 miles north of Nandgaon which lies at the entrance of the valley between Satmala and the Vindhya, granting the village Senana-kalasa (Sendri near Kargaon, 8 miles south-west of Chalisgaon) in the Kundalikamalavishaya (Kundalgaon, 11 miles s.w. of Jeur), (see Abstract in D.R.Bhandarkar, volume, p.55n).

The above inscriptions clearly indicate that the centre of Sendraka rule was located in West Khandesh. Inscription "C" shows that the Sendrakas, also gained control of Lāta for some time during the period of confusion following the death of Pulakesin II.

(37) For a discussion see EI.XXII.24ff. The Sorab and the Dayyamdinne grants show that the initial year of Vinayāditya fell some time between 22nd. June and 4th July of 681 A.D. The Togurchedu and the Jejuri grants point to a date between the 18th October, 678 A.D., and the 2nd of July, 679.

(38) IA.XL.240. (39) EI.XIX.62ff. (40) EI.XXV.289f.
(41) IA.XIX.149, EC.Sb.571; IA.VII.300f. (42) IA.VI.88.

Togarchedu in the Nadyal taluk, Kurnul district) in the Pedekul vishaya; (43), and in the village of Alikunda (somewhere in the Kurnul district?) (44). The jayaskand-havāras of the king are found located at Bhādali (Budlee-budruk, 5 miles from Phaltan) (45); Mañchoha (or Mañhul-grāma), probably Manchhar in the Poona district on the road to Nasik (46); Talayakhedagrāma on the northern bank of the Tagara river (Ter) (47); Chitraseḍu in the Toramāravishaya (round about Gooty taluk in the Anantapur district) (48), Pampātārtha (Hampi); (49) Karañjapatragrāma in Haresapura or Harisapura (Harihar in the Chitaldroog district), (50) Raktapura, (51); Elūmpuṇḍale (52); and Mahākōṭitīrtha (53); The authority of Vinayāditya was undoubtedly acknowledged by his uncle Jayasinha, governor of Nāsika vishaya and the Lāṭa Province (54). The Purī-Konkana Province was probably under Simhavarman, son of Svāmichandra, (55) Another feudatory of the king was the Sendraka Poḡilli, who administered the Nāgarakhanda region. (56) The Gangas and the Ālupas also continued to render their homage. (57) The contemporary Ālupa ruler was Chitravāhana, son of Gunasāgara.

There cannot be any doubt that Vinayāditya was able to retain his father's kingdom intact. His inscriptions

(43) JBBRAS. XVI. 231f, 242f. (44) JOR., 1936, pt. i. 27f.
 (45) EI. XIX. 62f. (46) EI. XXV. 289f. (47) EI. XXII. 24ff.
 (48) IA. XIX. 149; EC. Sb. 571. (49) JBBRAS. XVI. 231f, 242f.
 (50) IA. VII. 300f. (51) IA. VII. 112. (52) IA. VI. 88.
 (53) JOR. 1936, pt. 1. 27f. (54) The Surat grant of Yuvarāja Sryās-
 raya Silāditya, son of Jayasinha expressly refers to Vinayā-
 ditya as the sovereign ruler. (55) EI. XXV. 225f. (56) IA. XIX. 142
 ff. (57) They are referred to as the hereditary servants of
 contd.

credit him with having brought the Pallavas, Kalabhras, Keralas, Haihayas, Vilas, Mālavas, Cholas, Pāṇḍyas and others to a similar state of servitude with the hereditary servants the Gāṅgas and the Ālupas.(58) Of these peoples the identity of the Vilas is not known. The Haihayas are possibly to be located in Central India, while the Mālavas may have been the inhabitants of the famous country of that name. The rest of the group consist of the hereditary rivals of the Chālukyas. It is however not clear if the alleged successes of the king over his southern neighbours refer to a new invasion against them, or they are merely a repetition of his exploits performed during the reign of his father. With regard to the Haihayas it may be noticed that Vikramāditya II, the king's grandson, married into their family and it is not altogether impossible that their connection

(57) contd. the king in his copper plate inscriptions.

(58) cf. Jejuri Plates (EI. XIX. 62ff) and copper plate charters of the king.

with the Chālukyas dated from the time of Vinayāditya. The history of the Mālavas about this time is very obscure. In the records of the king's son Vijayāditya it is claimed that his father obtained the Pālidhvaja and other insignia of supreme authority by churning the lord of the whole of the Uttarāpatha. The crown prince Vijayāditya is said to have performed great deeds of valour on this occasion. We are informed that he was always in the front rank of the battle; and in the presence of his father, who was desirous of conquering the region of the north, the prince with his sword split open the the foreheads of the elephants of the enemies, drove them back, and acquired for Vinayāditya such tokens of royalty as the emblems of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā, besides rubies, elephants etc. He then pursued the fleeing enemy, who however fell upon him and took him captive. But he managed to escape, and coming back to the south put an end to anarchy and popular commotion within the kingdom by his prowess alone. (59) It has been suggested that the king of the sakalottarapatha with whom Vinayāditya came into conflict may have^{been} one of the later Guptas who are known to have dominated Magadha and

(58) ~~of Jejurī Plates (EI. XIX. 62ff) and copper plates charters of the king.~~

(59) IA. IX. 126f.

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Madhyadesa about this time. (60) Attention may be drawn to the fact that this great achievement of Vinayāditya is not mentioned in any of his own records. Our information in this respect is entirely derived from the records of his son, and in the present state of our knowledge we should perhaps place the event at the very close of Vinayāditya's reign. Reference to the anarchy and popular commotion which Vijayāditya suppressed by his own valour alone probably suggests that his father died when he was still absent from the south, being a captive in the hands of the northern enemies. The death of Vinayāditya took place in 696 A.D.

The next king, Vijayāditya, had a long reign extending over thirty-eight years from 696 to 734 A.D. The known facts of his career during the reigns of his grandfather and father imply that he was already an adept in statecraft and a veteran soldier when he came to the throne. The largest number of early Chālukya inscriptions so far known, belong to this reign. Records on stone have been found at Badami, Pattadakal and Aihole in the Bijapur district. (61); Lakshmeshwar in the Miraj State (62); Benkankonda (Ranebennur (Bankapur taluk), Jakkali (Ron Taluk), Kurtakoti (Gadag taluk); Mulanalli and Bannikop (Bankapur taluk) and

(60) PHAI. 4th. ed. 517.

(61) IA. X. 60f; 166; VIII. 285.

(62) IA. VII. 112, XXX. 238, EI. XIV. 188f.

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Ganapura (Haveri Taluk) in the Dharwar district; (63)
 Chippagiri (Alur taluk) in the Bellary district; (64)
 Kondupalli and Betapalli (Gooty taluk) in the Anantapur
 district (65); Danavulapādi (Jammalamagudi taluk) in the
 Cuddapah district; (66); and Mayitammanamuchchadi (Shik-
 arpur taluk) in the Shimoga district in Mysore (67).
 The king granted lands in the Navasārikāvishaya (68), at
 Nirgundi (Nigāde) near Devilagrāma (Divale, 2 kos from
 the Purandar fort) in the Samagirivishaya (69), in
 Talitātāhara vishaya (70), Iridige vishaya (71) and
 Ālakuka vishaya (most probably North Kanara), (72),
 and in Lohagañjavātaka in Malligrāma Thirty (73). The
 Jayaskandhāvāras of the king were located at Rāsenagara
 (suggested by Fleet to be Rasin in Ahmadnagar district)
 (74), Marivasati in Karahāṭa (Karhad in the Satara district)
 (75); Elāpura (probably Yellapura in Karwar), (76);
 Kuhundinagara (the chief town of Kuhundi or Kundi 3000,
 which comprised the greater part of the Belgaum district
 and the neighbouring territory (77), and Raktapura (modern
 Lakshmeshwar in the Miraj State) (78). The sovereignty of

(63) BK. 6 of 1934-35; BKI. no. 2; DKD. 374n; Bk. 16 of 1933-34; BK. 198
 of 1926-27; BKI. no. 3; BK. 44 of 1932-33; (64) SII. IX. no. 48.
 (65) SIE. A. R., B 359 of 1921; SII. IX. I. no. 47. (66) SII. IX. I. 59;
 cf. also IMP. I. nos. 155a, 489. (67) EC. VII. Sk. 278
 (68) EI. XXV. 21ff. (69) BISM. IX. 1ff. (70) EI. X. 14ff.
 (71) IA. IX. 126f; 130 (72) IHQ. IV. 425f, BISM. XVI. pp. 59, 70.
 (73) SIE. A. R., 1934-35, p. 7, 57. (74) DKD. 372. (75) EI. X. 14f.
 (76) IHQ. IV. 425f, BISM. XVI. 59, 70. (77) SIE. A. R. 1934-35, p. 7, 57.
 (78) EI. XXV. 21ff.

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the Chālukya king continued to be acknowledged in the Lāta, and the Purī-Konkana provinces as before. The first mentioned territory in 731 A.D. was being ruled by Mangalarāja, a son of Jayasimha. (79) The latter was under Prithvirāja-Bhogasakti, grandson of Svāmichandra. In an inscription issued by him, dated in 710 A.D., he claims that he established himself in the districts of Goparāshtra (identified with the Nasik region), Eastern Trikūta, two Mahāgiriḥāras, and Palla Ādamba (ka) up to the boundary of the Pretahrada. (80) This shows that at the beginning of the eight century the whole or part of the Nāsikavāshaya passed out of the hands of Jayasimha or his immediate successor. Incidentally it perhaps reveals that the feudatories about this period could enlarge their heritage even by force of arms at the expense of/^aneighbour owing allegiance to a common sovereign. Besides Mangalaraja and Prithvirāja-Bhogasakti we should perhaps include the two immediate predecessors of the Rāshtrakūta Dantidurga among the feudatories of Vijayāditya. (80a)

The distribution of the inscriptions, land grants etc., suggest that the prosperity of the Chālukyas continued without serious decline during the reign under review. No

(79) JBBRAS. XVI. p. 5, DKD. 374.

(80) EI. XXV. 225ff. (80a) Dantidurga is now known to have been a feudatory of Vikramāditya II. His two immediate predecessors have ^{been} also described as mahāsāmantas (EI. XXV. 25ff).

political incident of the period is known, and it seems to have been on the whole peaceful. The king was a devotee of Śiva and constructed the temple of Vijayadeśvara Śiva at Pattadakal. But the catholicity of his mind found expression in the step he took at the beginning of his reign to establish the images of the Hindu Trinity - Brahmā, Vishnu and Śiva - in the capital city of Badami. Even the Jainas shared in his bounty. In the thirty-fourth year of his reign he granted a village for the purpose of the Jaina temple Sankhajinendra to Niravadya Udayapanditadeva, who was a house-pupil of Puṣṭyapāda, probably the author of Jinendravākyakaraṇa. (81)

In an undated Nerur Plate the king's son Vikramāditya receives along with his father the paramount titles of Mahārājādhirāja Paramesvara coupled with the usual Chālukya epithets. (82) This document, if genuine, would show that the father and the son ruled conjointly for some time. Kielhorn, however, doubts the authenticity of the record. (83)

(81) IA.VII.112.

(82) I.A.IX.133.

(83) EI.VII.App.p.8n.

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III Vikramāditya II.

The independent rule of Vikramāditya, if he was actually a co-ruler with his father, began in 633-34 A.D., and lasted till 746-47 A.D. It was short but glorious from the point of view of Chālukyan history, and affords an interesting contrast to the long and seemingly uneventful reign of his predecessor. The name of the new king reminds us of the valiant son of Pulakesin II who restored the fallen fortune of his house, and the course of history during his, and his great-grandson's reign was in certain respects surprisingly similar. Once more we hear of expeditions to the south, the capture of the city of Kāñchī, the ravaging of the lands of the Tamils, and the repulse of an enemy from the north by a feudatory prince of Lāṭa.

Vikramāditya II's contest with his southern neighbours seem to have begun shortly after his accession to the throne. The Naravana Plates, dated in his eight year, state that the king, "who had enjoyed great pleasure immediately after the time of his appointment at the self-choice of the goddess of universal sovereignty", resolved to uproot the Pallava king, "his natural enemy, who had robbed of splendour the former kings of the line". The record proceeds to say that he went in haste towards

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the Tundakavishaya (i.e. the Pallava kingdom), and at the opening of the campaign beat and put to flight the opposing king Nandipotavarman. The camp of the enemy was plundered, and the conqueror took possession of the musical instruments of his rival called the Katamukha, vādita and Samudraghosha, the flagstaff called the Khatvāṅga, and many excellent and well known elephants together with heaps of rubies. The gates of the Pallava capital now lay open to the victor, who entered it. He must have issued orders at the same time to his men not to ravage the city, or to molest its inhabitants, for it is specifically stated that he took Kāñchī without destroying it. His behaviour on the occasion was apparently different from that of Narasimhapotavarman, the captor of Vatāpi. At Kāñchī the Chālukya king seems to have celebrated a triumph by showing great liberality to the Brahmins, the poor and the helpless, and by restoring grants of gold to the temple of Rājasimheśvara and other gods which were built by Narasimhapotavarman II. (84) The last mentioned acts of the king are also mentioned in a short inscription engraved on a pillar of the temple of Rājasimheśvara at Kāñchī. (85) In a Pattadakal inscription it is claimed that Vikramāditya took Kāñchī three times. (86)

(84) The Naravana Plates, edited by G.H.Khare in BISMQ, Vol. X. 9ff. Cf. also (85) EI. III. 360.

(86) IA. X. 164f.

The correctness of this statement cannot be otherwise verified. In any case it seems that in course of one of these campaigns he also harried the lands of the Cholas, Pāndyas, Keralas and Kalabhras as well. (86a)

The Vakkaleri and the Kendur Plates (87)

inform us that the prince Kīrtivarman (II) sought the permission of his father (probably after his elevation to the office of Yuvarāja) (88) to lead a fresh expedition against the ruler of Kāñchī, which was granted. He then proceeded towards the enemy's country, broke the power of the Pallava king, who was unable to meet him in the open field, and took refuge in a fort. The victor captured a large number of elephants, gold and crores of rubies, and delivered them to his father, who thus gradually attained to the position of an universal sovereign (kramena prāpta-sārvabhaumapadaḥ). Father Heras thinks that Kīrtivarman's successes against the Pallavas were attained in the course of the same campaign of his father which is described in the Naravana Plates, and is repeated in the Vakkaleri and the Kendur Plates. (89) But the statement of *sva-guṇa-kalāp-ānandita-hridayena-pitrā+samāropita-yauva-rājya+sva-kulavairinā+Kāñchīpateḥ+nnigrahāya mām+presaya-ity-*

(86a) cf. the Vakkaleri (EI.V.200ff) and Kendur (EI.IX.200ff) plates. (87) *ibid.*

(88) cf. the expression *pitṛā-samāropita-yauvarājya+sva-kulavairinā+Kāñchīpateḥ+nnigrahāya mām+presaya.*

(89) *Studies in Pallava History*, 51ff.

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ādesam prārthya labdhvā tadanantaram eva kṛita-prayāṇas-
 san (who, through the joy which his father felt on account
 of his good qualities, having obtained the rank of yuva-
 rāja, prayed for an order, saying 'send me to subdue the
 king of Kāñchi, the enemy of our race', and immediately
 on obtaining it, marched forth....." suggests that the
 prince actually received a separate commission to humble
 the hereditary enemy of his family.

The reign of Vikramāditya II also witnessed
 the first attempt of the followers of Islam to penetrate
 into the Deccan. The centre of their power and base of
 operations in India was Ṣind. We learn from a Muslim
 historian that their leader Junaid sent expeditions against
 Marmad (Marwar ?), al-Mandal (Mandor ? near Viragram ?)
 Baharimad, al-Bailaman (Vallamandala ?) and al-Jurz (Gurjara)
 (90). Scholars unanimously hold that an Indian version
 of the operations of the Arab general has been preserved for
 posterity in the Nausari Plates of Avani-janāśraya Pulakesin
 the Chālukya governor of Lāṭa. The record states that
 the Tājikas (i.e. the Arabs) after destroying the Saindhava
 (probably the region about Guhmli in Nawanagar State,
 Western Kathiawar) ⁽⁹¹⁾ Kachchhella (Cutch), Saurāshtra (Southern
 and eastern Kathiawar ruled by the Maitrakas), Chāvotkata
 (probably in Gujarat or western Rajputana), Maurya (probably
 in Southern Rajputana or Malwa) and Gurjara (Bhinmal or
 (90) Elliot, History of India as told by its own Historians, I.
 (91) contd. (contd)

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Broach) and other kings fell upon Navasārikā or Nausari to get a passage into the south for conquering all the southern kings. But the progress of the invaders was stopped by Pulakesin, who inflicted a severe defeat upon them and forced them to retire (92). Once more we find a governor of Lāṭa distinguishing himself by preventing an intruder from the north from overrunning the Chālukya principality. His grateful overlord conferred upon him the titles of the "^{\"Pillar of the South\"}~~Pillar of Dakshinā-patha~~", (~~Dakshināpatha-sādhaka~~) "Ornament of the family of Chālukya", (Chalukya(ku) kulālamkāra), "Beloved of the Earth (Prithivīvallabha), "Repeller of the Unrepellable" (Anivā[~]rtakanivā[~]ttayitā) "Support of the men in the world (Avanijanāśraya). (93)

The attack on Navasārikā by the Arabs must have taken place after 731 A.D. when Pulakesin's brother Mangalarāja was still ruling, and before 739 A.D. the date of issue of the Nausari Plates. In a recently published charter of the Gurjara prince Jayabhata III (or IV), dated 736 A.D., it is claimed that he went to the help of the lord of Valabhi when the latter was attacked by the Tajikas (94) The incursion of

(9) or (90) (contd. 432-39. For suggested identifications of the places, see, Majumdar, Ray Chaudhuri and Datta, Advanced History of India, p. 182; DKD 375n. (91) EI. XXVI. 185f. (92) Pro. of the 7th. Int. Congress, Asian Section, p. 230f. (93) ibid. (94) EI. XXIII. 151n. It was previously thought that Jayabhata defeated a ruler of Valabhi, but the new inscription removes all doubts as to the actual relationship between the Maitrakas and the Gurjaras.

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Junaid, therefore, reached Surāshṭra sometime before this date. The turn of Barwas (or Broach) must have come next. The absence of any reference to the investment of his own territory in Jayabhata's record suggests that it did not take place till after 736 A.D. We may therefore tentatively assign the date of Pulakesin's exploit against the Arabs some time between 736 and 739 A.D. (95)

Stone inscriptions of Vikramāditya II, within his own dominions, have been found at Pattadakal and Aihole in the Bijapur district (96), and at Tippaluru in the Cuddapah district. (97). In the eighth year of his reign we find him granting land in the Āhipulunavishaya (modern Chiplun) at the instance of the Rāshtrakūṭa Govindarāja, son of Śivarāja, from his Jayaskandhāvāra at Ādityavāṭa (Aitawade in the Satara district. (98) A spurious Lakshmeshwar inscription refers to another Jayaskandhāvāra at Pulikere (Puligere). (99).

The names of only three principal feudatories of the king, have come down to us. One of them of course was Avanijanāśraya-Pulakesin of Lāṭa, whose exploits against the Tājikas we have already noticed. The second was the Rāshtrakūṭa Dantidurga, about whom we shall speak presently. (100) The third was Pōrmukhārāma, who was in charge of the

(95) From the absence of any Gurjara record after 736, Fleet also placed the event after that year. (DKD. 375n). (96), (97), (98) (99) & (100) contd.

the Bāṇa territory bounded by the Pennā river. (101).

Vikramāditya married two princesses of the Haihaya family, Lokamahādevī and Trailokyamahādevī. Both the queens seem to have been intensely religious, and paid their devotions to the great god Śiva. The latter bore Kirtivarman II, who in due course succeeded his father.

(96) contd. IA.X.164ff, 166,167,169; VIII.286.

(97) contd. SIE,AR.,1938,p.82.

(98) contd. BISMJ.X.9ff.

(99) contd. IA.VII.106,111.

(100) contd. EI.XXV.25ff. Ellora Plates of mahā-sāmantādhipati Khadgavaloka Bantidurgarāja. No reference is made to the overlord in the inscription, but the findspot undoubtedly suggests that he was a feudatory of Vikramāditya II.

(101) SIE,AR., 1938,p.82.

N Kirtivarman II - The Collapse of the Early Chālukya Power in the Western Deccan.

The early Chālukya rule in the western Deccan seems to have reached its climax during the reign of Vikramāditya II. Yet within little more than a decade after his death no recognizable trace of the authority of his family remained. This dramatic collapse of the power of the Chālukyas of Badami must have formed the great event of historical interest during the reign of Vikramāditya, son and successor Kirtivarman II.

The ~~new~~ king came to the throne in 746-47 A.D. and his latest known date is 757 A.D. The distribution of his stone inscriptions, land grants and Jayaskandhāvāras shows that he was certainly in possession of the Sholapur and Kanarese districts of the Bombay Presidency, the south Kanara, Bellary and the Anantapur districts of the Madras Presidency, and the north-western districts of the Mysore State. Epigraphs of the reign have been found at Pattadakal, in the Bijapur district, Annigere and Didgur in the Dharwar district, Adur in South Kanara, Kurukunti in the Alur taluk, Bellary district, and Niluru in the Gooty taluk, Anantapur district (102). The king granted the village of Kara-bandar on the eastern bank of the Tūmṇuravū in the Korivode-vishaya; and also land in Vanniyapolu in the neighbourhood of the village Arapumse; the villages of Arapumse and Beppatti in the Belvola-vishaya; Salliyur in the

(102) contd.

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Pānūṅgal Viśhaya, and also the villages of Ādur, 8 miles from Hangāl, and Saganur, 12 miles from Didgūr, in the Dharwar district.⁽¹⁰²⁾ The victorious camps of the king were located at Nelavodige on the western bank of the Bhīmarathī, Bhandāgāravittage on the bank of the Bhīmā and at Raktapur. (104)

The Ainulā Plates mention Nāgasakti of the Sendraka race as one of the feudatories of the Chālukya king. (105) Two others were Dōsirāja, who was governing Banavāsi 12000, and prince Śīnda, who was ruling at Pāndipur (same as Ādur in South Kanara). (106)

No record has been discovered as yet to show that the authority of Kīrtimarman was acknowledged in the northern provinces of the Chālukya kingdom. And it is precisely in this quarter that the movement to overthrow the Chālukya rule in the western Deccan was started. Its leader was the Rāshtrakūṭa Dantidurga. His recently discovered Ellora Plates show that in 742 A.D. he held possessions in the Aurangabad district of the Nizam's dominions and the contiguous district of Khandesh (107). The record describes him as a mahāsāmantādhipati who had obtained the five great sounds (adhigatapañchamahāśabda).

(102) see EI. III. 4ff; XXI. 204ff; VI. 253ff Add. VII; IA. IX. 69, IMP. II. No. 76 a; SII. IX. 1. Nos. 50-51.

(103) see MAS. 1909, pp. 12, 14; EI. III. 4ff; IX. 200ff; EI. V. 202ff; IA. IX. 69; EI. VI. 253;

(104) MAS. 1909, pp. 12, 14; EI. V. 202ff; EI. IX. 200ff.

(105) MAS. AR. 1908-9, pp. 12, 14. (106) IA. IX. 69. IMP. II. p. 854.

(107) EI. XV. 25ff.

Although no reference is made to any overlord, it can hardly be doubted that he acknowledged the suzerainty of the Chālukya king Vikramāditya II. The Daśavatara temple inscription mentions five of his predecessors : Dantivarman, Indra I, Govinda, Karka, and Indra II.

Nothing substantial is known about the first three persons. They seem to have been mere local chiefs of no great influence. The last two are described in the aforesaid Ellora Plates as mahāsāmantādhipa^{ti} who had obtained the five great sounds. This suggests that both of them preceded Dantidurga in his office, and acknowledged the Chālukya suzerainty. The rise of this new line of feudatories seems to have followed the extinction of the Dendraka family of Khandesh some time after 680 A.D. We learn from the Samangadh Plates that Indra II, in battle, carried away the daughter of the Chālukya king from her marriage pandal, and married her according to the Rākshasa form (107a). The princess may have belonged to the ruling family of Lāta. The issue of this union was Dantidurga. It seems that till 742 A.D. he had no significant achievement to his credit. The Ellora Plates which were issued in that year vaguely refer to his victories in battles. Twelve years later when the Samangadh Plates were issued, momentous we find that the position of Dantidurga had undergone momentous

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changes; from being a mere feudatory he became a sovereign ruler, an equal with his erstwhile suzerain. We are told that he attained this higher rank "by suddenly conquering Vallabha with his assaulting force", and "by overcoming the endless forces of the Karnāṭaka, which were invincible to others, and which were skilled in effecting defeat on the lord of Kāñchī, the king of Kerala, the Chola, the Pāṇḍya, Śrī Harsha and Vajrāṭa".

(108) Scholars are unanimous in identifying the Vallabha king who thus suffered defeat at the hands of Dantidurga with Kṛtivarman II. This also receives confirmation from the statement of the Kaṭhem Plates that the Chālukya rule was overthrown during the reign of that monarch.

We have seen that ~~xxxx~~ as a yuvarāja Kirtivarman had led an expedition against the king of Kāñchī and humbled him. He was therefore not altogether devoid of martial prowess.

I suffer a military debacle during his reign? We can
Why then did the Chālukya army under him only guess an answer to this question. The Samangadh Plates records

that Dantivarman's tuskers "tore open and rent asunder the high banks of the Mahī, Mahānadi and the Revā (Narmadā)".

The Dasavatāra temple inscription says that he conquered the rulers of Kāñchī, Kalinga, Kosala, Śrīsaṅga, Mālava, Lāṭa, Tanka and Sindhu. The chronology of these extensive

The final overthrow of Chālukyan supremacy in the Deccan was effected by Dantidurga's uncle and successor Krishna I. The fact is mentioned in the Mandala, Wani-Dindori and Radhanpur Plates of Govinda III, and several other records. The Baroda Plates of Karka says that Krishna I "transformed into a deer (i.e. put to flight), the great boar, (the crest of the Chālukyas) which was seized with an itching for battle, and which, kindled with the warmth of bravery, attacked him". (109) Fleet points out that the passage implies that Kirtivarman II,

(109) Тако да се види да је у овом случају постојао један од оних типичних примера који су се јављали и у осталим деловима архивског материјала. Иако је овај документ издати у септембру 1863. године, он је вероватно био припремљен раније, јер се у њему помињу подаци из 1862. године. У овом случају, како се може видети из текста, документ је издат у септембру 1863. године.

IA.XII.162; DKD.378.

after the death of Dantidurgga, made an attempt to reassert his authority, and apparently failed. The overthrow of Kirtivarman must have happened after 757 A.D. when we find the Chālukya king making a grant from his jayaskandhāvāra at Bhandāgāravittage on the bank of the Bhīmā, and before 768 A.D. when we find the Rashtrakūta king in his jayaskandhāvāra at Manne in the territory of the Gaṅgas. (110)

The fall of the Vātāpi Chālukyas appears to have been abrupt and unexpected. Its immediate cause was a military debacle. But there seem to have been other factors also which contributed to the same end. The provinces of the Chālukya kingdom were ruled by hereditary governors, and it is obvious that under such circumstances its integrity largely depended upon the loyalty of the local rulers, and the constant vigilance of the sovereign over their activities. The predecessors of Kirtirvarman II, from Vikramāditya I onwards, with the possible exception of Vijayāditya, were almost constantly engaged in warlike and aggressive exploits, and they directed their attention particularly to their enemies in the south. As a result their visits to the northern provinces of their kingdom were few and far between. (111) It seems, therefore,

(110) Talegaon Plates of Kṛishna I. EI.XIII.275ff.

(111) Note that only one jayaskandhāvāra, and that one of Vijayāditya, is so far known to have been located in the farthest northern provinces of the Chālukya kingdom.

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that the governors of that region were left with a large amount of individual initiative, and in some cases even enjoyed special privileges which were possibly denied to others. We see for instance that the name of the sovereign ruler does not appear in any of the known copper-plate charters of the Sendrakas of Khandesh. Neither do we find it in the Ellora grant of Dantidurga. Even Jayasimha, brother of Vikramāditya I, does not mention the latter in the single grant of him that we know. Far more significant than this perhaps is the fact that these ~~some~~ local ruling families were allowed to maintain under their own command well organised army, always in readiness to meet any intruder from the north. This concession, though useful, was undoubtedly ^a dangerous expedient. The whole system appears to have worked well under the charge of the Chālukyas of Lāṭa and the Sendrakas of Khandesh. The latter family, as we have seen, probably became extinct ^{some} by the time after 680 A.D., and their place was filled by the Rāshtrakūṭas, who must have succeeded to all the privileges and the advantages enjoyed by their predecessors. The disappearance of the Chālukya family of Lāṭa probably took place not long after 739 A.D., for no successor of Avanijanāśraya Pulakesin is known. This seems to have afforded an opportunity to Dantidurga, himself the son of a Chālukya princess, probably of Lāṭa, to extend his

influence in that direction as well (112). Kīrtivarman II thus had to deal with a dangerously powerful rival in the north and in the contest that followed he suffered a disastrous defeat. The laxity of control over the northern provinces, the excessive powers - both military and civil - enjoyed by the governors of that region; the disappearance of the Chālukyas of Lāṭa and the Sendrakas of Khandesh, the constant warfare in the south, which brought no gain but only led to military exhaustion - all these combined to bring about the seemingly sudden close of the early Chālukya rule in the western Deccan.

We may also note that in several records of the Gujarat branch of the Rāshtrakūṭas it is stated that Kṛishna I obtained the titles of Rājādhirāja Paramesvara^m by defeating a certain Rāhappa. The identity of ^{this} person is not so far known. He apparently occupied a very high position and wielded sovereign authority. If he was a southern ruler (the form of his name supports such a supposition), and if we are to place his rise before the overthrow of Kīrtivarman by the Rāshtrakūṭas, ~~and~~ ^{he} then^h also must have contributed to the weakening of the early Chālukya paramountcy in the Deccan.

(112) Thus the Daśāvātara Temple inscription credits Dantidurga with the conquest of Lāṭa.

The Early Chālukya Genealogy

Jayasimha I

I

Raparāga

I

Pulakesin I 541 A.D.

I

Kirtivarman I 566-97 A.D.

I

Mangaleśa 597-608

I

Pulakesin II
609-c.642 A.D.

I

Kubja-Vishnūvardhana

I

Buddhavarasa

I

Adityavarman

I

Chandrāditya

I

Vikramāditya I
655-678(?)

I

Jayasimha

I

?

Vinayāditya 678(?) - 696

I

Vijayāditya 696-733/34

I

Vikramāditya II 733/34-46

I

Kirtivarman II 746-757

I

Prithvipati

I

CHAPTER VI

THE WESTERN CHĀLUKYAS UNDER THE RĀSHTRAKŪTA RULE*

Epigraphic evidence reveals that though the paramount authority of the Chālukyas was swept away in the west, the rule of the race survived in certain parts of the Kanarese country, and the eastern districts of the Nizam's dominions. The members of these local ruling families apparently made their peace with Dantidurga and Krishna I by accepting their suzerainty. The present chapter deals with the history of these Chālukya feudatories of the Rāshtrakūtas.

I. The Chalukyas of Tardavādi.

We start with the account of a family which claimed direct descent from the house of Vātāpi, and a member of which eventually restored the sovereignty of his race after it had been in abeyance for more than two centuries. Until quite recently it was not known for certain where the ancestors of Taila II, the restorer, lived and ruled. Neither did we know anything about his own power and status before he effected the great dynastic revolution. Two inscriptions have now been brought to light which shows that Taila II was a feudatory of the Rāshtrakuta King Krishna III, and governed the Tardavādi loco province as amaga-jīvita (a follower's fief) (1)

* For the history of the Chālukyas during the period of the Rāshtrakūta supremacy, see also PTHQ XIII 244

This territory seems to have comprised a large part, if not the whole of the Bijapur district (2). It may be assumed, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, that the predecessors of Taila II also held subordinate positions under the Rāshtrakūtas, and ruled over the same locality. This proposition to some extent received¹ support from the fact that we have quite a large number of inscriptions which refer to the Rāshtrakūta governors of the neighbouring provinces of Banavāsi 1200, Puligere 300, Belvola 300, Kōgaḷi 500, Māseyavāḍi 140, etc., (3). But not a single inscription has been discovered as yet to show that the ancestral territory of the Vātāḍi Chālukyas was ruled by any other persons but themselves. This brings us to the important question of the relationship between the early Chālukyas and the later Chālukyas of the Western Deccan. In the Kauthem plates of Vikramāditya V, and analagous records of the later age the descent of the Chālukyas of Kalyāni is traced from a younger son of Vijayāditya, the grandfather of Kirtivarmen II (4). The connection between the earlier and the later family, according to these sources, may be seen in the following table:

- (1)(a) The Karjol (Bijapur taluk, Bijapur Dist) Inscription of the Rāshtrakūta Kanharadeva (Krishna III) informs us that in S.879(957 A.D) the King's subordinate Tailapayya was governing the nādu (probably Tardavāḍi). (Bk.178 of 1933-34; Bk.I.I.I. Intro p.vii; ASI, 1934, pp.134-7)
- (b) The Warsalgi (Bagevadi taluk, Bijapur dist) inscription of the time of Akālavarsha (Krishna III) introduces tat-pāda-paḍm-ōpajivi gamadhigata-paḍm[ā]ncha mahāsabda mahāsāmantādhi[pa]ti Chālukya-tāman-Ahavam[ā]lla Sa[tya]śraya-kula-tilaka[sri]matar Tailapparār. He was governing (Tardda) vāḍi 1000 in S.886 (965 A.D). (Bk.I.I.I. No.40. Bk.113 of 1929-30; ASI, AR, 1929-30, p.170).
- (2) Tardavāḍi has been identified by Fleet with Taddewadi on the bank of the Bhimā in the Indi taluk, Bijapur dist (IA XIX.269). On the south it extended as far as the Bagalkot taluk in the same district (cf. Bk.264 of 1928). Fleet identified Bage 50 in Tardavāḍi with Huvina-Bāge, modern Raybag in the Kohlapur state. But this is wrong. Bāge 50 included Kakandige (Kakhandki), Arjjunige (Arjunagi), Fonnāvāḍa (Hornwāḍ) - all of them in the Bijapur taluk (Bk.119, 169 and 171 of 1934)

(3) See Bk.I.I.I. pp. 4 - 30.

(4) see next page.

Vijayāditya

I

Vikramāditya II

I

Kirtivarmā II

I

unnamed styled Bhimāparākrama

I

Kirtivarmā III

Taila I

Vikramāditya III

Bhima

Ayyana I

Vikramāditya I V

Taila II

- (4) LA XVI. 15 ff. The Daultabad Plates of Jayasimha II (Hy. Arch. Se No. 2):
 the Miraj Plates (EP. XII. 303 ff); the Yedur Plates (EP. XII. 269 ff)
 The Niglund Plates (EP. XII. 142 ff); the Alur Plates (PA. VIII. 22) etc

Ranna, who wrote a generation earlier, agrees with the above list of descent from Bhīmaparakrama to Tailā II. But the connection between the former and Vijayāditya is thus described by the poet:

Vijayāditya - Chhattāraṇiṃ, tat-sūnu-mitrāṃ appa
Vikramārṇavaṃ enisida Kōṅkaṇi - Vikramādityaṇiṃ, tat-sūnu-mitrāṃ
appa Kīrtivarmaṇiṃ, ātana kīṛiya, magan Bhīmaparakramaṇiṃ (5)

Vijayāditya Chhattāraṇi, his son's friend Kōṅkaṇi Vikramāditya, also called Vikramārṇava, his son's friend (?) Kīrtivarman, his younger son Bhīmaparakrama.

It is difficult to decide in the present state of our knowledge whether Ranna, or the writer of the Kauthem plates, has recorded the genuine tradition regarding the relationship between the last of the Badami Chālukyas and the first known person among the later Chālukyas. Ranna's description of Vikramāditya as the son's friend of Vijayāditya, and of Kīrtivarman as the son's friend of Vikramāditya is also very puzzling. In the following ^{pages} ~~papers~~ we tentatively accept the genealogical table as found in the official documents of the later Chālukyas, namely the Kauthem plates and the analogous records.

Gadāyuddha (ed. by Ramanna Iyengar), p. 15
(5) IA. XL. pp. 43-44

Both Fleet and R.G. Bhandarkar doubted the authenticity of the above genealogy of the Kauthem plates and maintained that the later Chālukyas possibly belonged altogether to a separate branch of the race. The following arguments were adduced in support of this view:

(1) The "table gives only seven generations to fill the interval of two hundred and forty years, from Vijayāditya to Taila II. This yields an average perceptibly in excess of the twenty-five years which are usually accepted as representing a Hindu generation. And there can, thus, be little doubt, either that some steps are wanting in the pedigree here, or that Taila II belonged to some side-branch of the Chālukya stock, which could not in reality claim the direct lineal descent that is allotted to it." (Fleet - DKD 427)

"Kirtivarma ascended the throne in śaka 669 and was reigning in 679, before which time he had been reduced to the condition of a minor chief; and Tailapa regained sovereign power in 895 śaka. We have thus seven princes only between 669 and 895 i.e. for 226 years. This gives an average reign of 32 years to each, which is far too much". (Bhandarkar, EHD. 131)

(We now know that Taila II's career certainly began in 957 A.D., and may have begun a few years earlier. The interval between him and Vijayāditya was really 224 years or less. This undoubtedly yields the high average of 32 years for a generation. But we should note that it does not compare unfavourably with the average reign period of the Chālukya kings that is known to us.

Thus the seven generations of Kings from Pulakesin I to Vikramaditya II ruled for at least 205 years (C.541 - 746 A.D.) yielding an average of more than 29 years for a generation. The seven generations of kings from Taila II to Taila III ruled for at least 206 years (^{951 - 1163}~~1163 - 957~~), yielding an identical average as before. The western Chālukyas thus seem to have been a long lived race, and the above genealogy as given in the Kauthem Plates should not be branded as spurious unless direct evidence to the contrary is available.)

- (2) "The difference of name....., -- the invariable use, in the records of Taila II and his successors, of the forms "Chālukya", with the long vowel ā in the first syllable, except under metrical necessity; whereas this form does not once occur in the records of the Western Chālukyas of Badami, -- is rather suggestive evidence in favour of the latter view (that Taila II belonged to a side - branch of the Chālukya stock not lineally connected with the Badami family). (Fleet DKD 427).

(This argument has lost all its force since in certain records of the early Chālukyas we have the form of the family name with long a in the first syllable. See Chapter I pp.19 - 20).

- (3) "The princes of the earlier dynasty always traced their descent to Hariti and spoke of themselves as belonging to the Manavya race; while these later Chālukyas traced their pedigree to Satyāsraya only, and those two names do not occur in the inscriptions except in the Miraj Giant and its copies, where an effort is made to begin at the beginning". (Bhandarkar, 136).

(We have suggested in a previous context that Satyāśraya, from whom the later Chālukyas traced their descent, was most probably identical with Pulakesin II. If this is not accepted, even then there cannot be any doubt that the epithet Satyāśraya really signifies the early Chālukya kings who are known to have borne it. It is again not a fact that the names Manavya and Hārīti occur only in the formal charters, and ~~we~~ do not appear in the inscriptions of the later Chālukyas. (6)

- (4) "The titles Jagadekamalla, Tribhuvanamalla, etc., which the later Chālukyas assumed mark them off distinctively from princes of the earlier dynasty, who had none like them" (Bhandarkar, p.137).

(This by itself cannot prove anything. For example, the eastern Chālukyas assumed new sets of titles unknown in the West, and nobody would suggest that they were not an offshoot of the Vātāpi branch. It should also be noticed that these titles were added in the case of the later Chālukyas to the usual epithets borne by the early Chālukya kings with the difference that instead of Satyāśraya, the later records have Satyāśraya-kula-tilaka).

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- (6) cf. Elliot N. pp. 269, 350 b. The claim of descent from Mānavya or Māṇḍavya and Hārīti also suggests that the later ^{Chālukyas} carried the earlier tradition of their being Mānavyasagotras and Hārītiputras.

There is, therefore, no valid reason to think that the later Chālukyas were not lineally connected with the early Chālukyas of Vātāpi. The course of events affecting their fortune after the overthrow of Kirtivarman II is completely hidden from our view. Nothing is known about Bhīmaparākramaṇ, Kirtivarman II and Taila I. The next prince, called by Rama Kundiya-Bhīma, is described as the slayer of one Mūkkundi (7). Vikramāditya III, again, seems to have been an insignificant figure. The Kauthem plates say that "From him was born noble Ayyana, the glory of whose lineage the daughter of Krishna nourished, causing it to attain, as it were, the happiness of her own lineage". Fleet suggested that Krishna of this passage may perhaps be identical with Krishna II Rāshtrakūṭa (8). But Altekar has raised objection to this view (9). It should, however, be noted that the entire trend of the description of the Kauthem plates suggests that the lady in question was born of an illustrious family, and her marriage with Ayyana led to a great improvement in the status of the latter. Piercing through the thick veil of darkness, one can perhaps also discern here for the first time, the shadowy outlines of things that were to take bold shape in the future. The issue of this lucky union was Vikramāditya IV, who had the binuda Uttungamalla (10)

Gadāyuddha, p. 15;
(7) IA XL. 430

(8) DKD 379

(9) R.T. 129

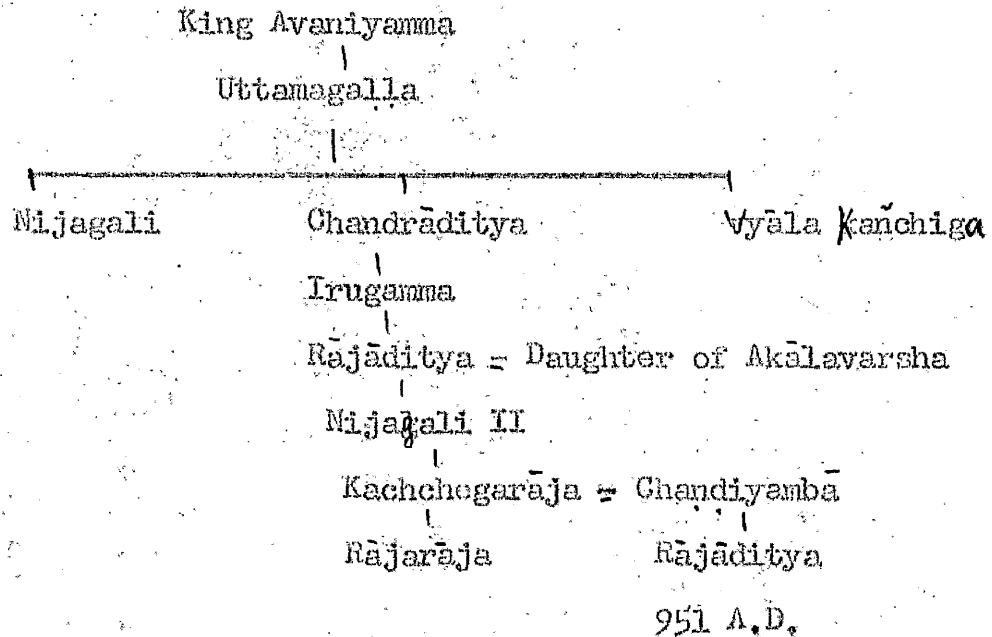
(10) Gadāyuddha, p. 15

The only other thing that we know about him is that he married Bonthādevī, daughter of the Haihaya king Lakshmana. This event certainly marked another stage in the rising tide of fortunes of the Chālukyas, and was perhaps a recognition of the altered circumstances of the race by the king of Tripurī, whose family was also intimately connected with the Rāshtrakūta sovereigns of the Deccan for generations. It is indeed a great pity that we have not sufficient and more reliable data for an adequate appraisal of the acts of the two immediate predecessors of Taila II -- for these must have provided the foundation of the power and influence which enabled him to revive the imperial rule of the Chālukyas. As it is, Ayyana and Vikramāditya IV were in reality the connecting link between a set of petty feudatories and a line of powerful monarchs, and their reigns must have constituted a period of transition from unredeemed obscurity to the full glamour of light. The achievement of Vikramāditya's son by the Chedi princess will be recounted in the next Chapter.

II. Minor Chālukya families.

Among other off-shoots of the Chālukya race, holding feudatory ranks, who ruled within the borders of the Kanarese country, mention may be made of a family which claimed connection with Asvatthāman, son of Drona. Our knowledge of this line is mainly derived from a copper plate grant issued by the last known prince Rājāditya (11). The record furnishes the following genealogy:

In the family of Chaluki, who was born from the water of the Ganges thrown out of the hands of Droni, was



Regarding the first member of the family nothing is known. About Uttamagalla it is said that his feet were worshipped by eighteen ghatikā-sāmantas (12) and the ruler of the whole of Varahātaka (sic). He compelled the kings of Gaṅga, Aṅga, Vaṅga, the Pāndya, Pallavas, Keralas, Cholas and Gajādhisa to pay tribute. It may be that these successes were won by this chief (if there is any substratum of truth in the above statement) in the train of the Rāshtrakūṭa Govinda III (739-814 A.D) (13), who is known to have been a great fighter and led campaigns against Dharmapāla of Bengal and the Kings of Veṅgi, Onissa, Kosala, Mālava, Gangavādi, Keralā, Pāndya, Chola and Kāñchi.

About the three sons of Uttamagalla and his grandson, Irugamma, nothing is known. The next prince, Rājāditya I, married the daughter of Akalevarsha, apparently Krishna II (877-903). Their issue of this marriage was Nijagali II. About his successor Kachehegarāja, it is said that in a great battle with him the king of the Gangas was killed. He had two sons, - obviously by two different wives - Rājarāja and Rājāditya II. The latter's mother was Chandiyambā, the sister of Gaṅga Dhūtārya, son of Yāsa, grandson of Mārasimha and the great grandson of Tyāgi. Rājāditya is described as a mahāsāmanta, who had attained the five great sounds.

(12) In the Binur grant we have a reference to Vaijayanti with its eighteen mandalika. (EC. VI. p. 90).

(13) For the initial years of Govinda III, see Altekar, R.T. p. 59n.

His senior queen was the daughter of the emperor (Chakravartī-sūta) probably Kṛishṇa III (939-968) and the second queen was the daughter of Gaṅga-Gaṅgeya. We learn from several inscriptions discovered within the Mysore state that Rājāditya II was at war with the Gaṅga king, Mārasimha (961-974) for the possession of the fort of Uchchāṅgi (14), and that he suffered defeats at the hands of the latter (15). Chāmunda-rāja, the minister and general of the Gaṅga king Rāchamalla IV, successor of Mārasimha, claims that he got the title of Raṇarāṅga by fighting bravely against Rājāditya in the fort of Uchchāṅgi (15). There cannot be any doubt that Chāmunda-rāja fought under the banner of Rāchamalla's predecessor.

The copper-plate grant of Rājāditya to which we have referred above records that when Akālavārsha Kṛishṇa (III) while engaged in an expedition to the south, was encamped firmly at Mēlpāti after defeating the Cholas, Cheras, Pāṇḍyas and Ālus (sic!), the Chālukya prince gave away two villages in the kingdom of Kadambalīḷe 1660, which he obtained for his maintenance as king. It is dated Ś 873 (951 A.D.)

MAS.

14. E.C.II. No.59. V.Chan.262. 1911. p.37

15. S. Śrīkantha Śāstri, Sources of Karnāṭaka History.
vol.I. pp.111-13; MAS.1911, p.45.

Rājāditya does not seem to have long survived his defeat at the hands of the Gaṅga king, and in all possibility he was the last member of his line. An inscription from Chitaldrug district (16) shows that in 968 A.D. (S 890) Chālukya Pandiga was governing the Kadambalige looo. The record refers to Nityavarsha - Khottigadeva as the reigning sovereign, and gives the following genealogy:

In the Chālukya lineage

Ka

1

Mari galarāya

1

Vikramāditya

1

Pallimayya (or ? Bittimayya).

Kirtirāya

Kalikonkanadeva

(Re) vananāta

1

Rājabu/hūja

1

Bikkiyanna

1

Goggi

1

Pandiga, whose wife was Jakkisundari.

Nothing further is known about Pandiga, or any of his predecessors.

Another family is referred to in a copper plate grant found in the Gubbi taluk in the Tumkur district of the Mysore state (17).

We get the following genealogy:

|
Balavarman

|
Yasovarman

|
Vimaladitya, governor of Kunungildesa.

The inscription records that on the application of Chakirāja, Vallabhendra, i.e. the Rāshtrakūṭa king gave away a village named Jalamangalaun in the Idigur vishaya (in the Gubbi taluk) to the acharya Arkakirti for removing the painful influence of the Saturn on Vimaladitya. It is dated S 735 (813 A.D.) A fragmentary inscription from the Bellary district mentions the Chālukya Balavarman and his son Dasavarman. It is dated S 842 (920 A.D.) and refers to the Rāshtrakūṭa King Nityavarsha (Indra III) (18). These two personages also may have belonged to the above family, as their names suggest.

(17) E.C. XII. Gt 61; DKD 389

(18) IMP. I. p267.No.94

Inscriptions found at Varuna in Mysore refer to two Chālukya princes who had the original boar crest. One of them, Narasimha, is described as a mahāsāmanta entitled to the five great sounds (19). His wife was Gāvilabbarasi. The other was mahāsāmanta Goggi - or Gugga (20). Both of them seem to have belonged to the same family and their seal indicates that they may have been connected with the house of Vātāpi.

Finally we may note that in Ś 868 (944 A.D.) when Rāshtrakūṭa Kannaradeva (Kṛishna III) was ruling, Kātyēra of the Chālukya family was governing the Kōgali 500 and the Māsavādi 140 (21). Another Chālukya feudatory of the Rāshtrakūṭas seems to have been prince Parahitarāja of the ^{Kōtar} ~~Kōtar~~ inscription found in the Balgaum district (22).

(19) MAS 1908, p.8 DKD, 380.

(20) E.C.III. My. 36-37; 41-45 ; DKD 380

(21) Sewell - Lists, p.46.

(22) IA XX-69, DKD 380.

III. The Chālukyas of Lembulapātaka.

Our information about this line is derived from the Kollepara Plates of Arikeśarin (I) (1), the Vemulavāda inscription of Arikeśarin II, (2), the Parabhani Plates of Arikeśarin III (3) and the Pampa-Bhārata. The dynasty claims descent from the Sun.⁽⁴⁾ It was at one time thought that princes of this family held sway over what was alleged to be known as the Jōla country, or "the land of the great millet", which Fleet located about the modern Dharwar district of the Bombay Presidency (4). But Rice pointed out long ago that this view rested on an erroneous interpretation of the phrase jōladapāli, occurring in verse 50, Chapter 14 of Pampa's work (5). The land grants referred to in the above mentioned plates and inscriptions now definitely prove that the rule of this branch of the Chālukyas extended

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- (1) JAHRS VI. 178f, 189 f.
N.Venkataramanayya regards this epigraph as spurious, but assigns no reason for his view (Dr.C.Kunhan Rajan Presentation Volume (1946), p.115n.
 - (2) JAHRS VI. 169 ff.
 - (3) BTSMQ. XIII.No.3.p33f, for plates see No.4.facing p.111
 - (3a) Ibid
 - (4) DKD.380-81
 - (5) Pampa Bhārata, edited by Rice, Introduction p.2n.
See also the remark of Narasimhachar in IA.XI p41n2.

over some of the eastern districts of the Nizam's Dominions, including Karimnagar and Nalgonda (6). The capital city was evidently located at Lembulapātaka, modern Vemulavāda, or Vemalwada, about ten miles to the west of Karimnagar (7)

(6) The Kollepārā grant records the gift of the village Belmoga, which lay to the north of the mahāgrāma Urige and was bounded by Tuvatoru, Parivaturla, Pulcheruvul and Pōtuvōdupi on all sides, to the Śaiva ascetic Mugdha-Sivāchārya alias Mugdha-Sasisekhara. The villages mentioned in the grant have been located on the southern borders of the Nizam's Dominions in the Nalgonda district (JAHRB VI 182). The Vemulavada inscription records the grant of some land in the Lembulavāda-Pattana itself. The Parabhani plates record the grant of the village Vanikatupulu in Repāka 12 belonging to the Sabbidesa 1000. Among the boundary-villages are mentioned Dariyūrū, Ilindikunṭa, Vellālapattu, and Kattakūrū. Of these Dariyūrū cannot be identified. Repāka and Kattakūrū are the same as Reapac and Kutkoo villages of the Karimnagar district. Others are also found in the vicinity (BISM, XIII. pp 35-36). Sabbidesa 1000 is evidently the same as Sabbi-sāyira which was ruled by the Kākatiya chief Beta II as a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI (E9.IX.266).

(7) Line 37 of the Parabhani Plates distinctly mentions (Lem)bulapātaka as the capital of Arikeśarin III. B.V. Krishna Rao thinks that it was the Capital of Gunarasa (not Gunakarasa), the Sandhivigraha of Arikeśarin II, when the latter was still ruling. But the view is absolutely unwarranted.

The following genealogical lists are supplied by the records of the dynasty:-

Kollepara Grant. Vemulavada Inst. Pampa (8) & Parabhani Grant.

Satyāśraya alias

Ranavikrama

I

Prithvipati

I

Mahārāja

I

Rājāditya

I

Vinayāditya

Yuddhamalla

alias Vinayāditya

Yuddhamalla

I

Arikesarin

Arikesarin I

Arikesarin I

I

Narasimha
alias Rājāditya

*

*

*

*

Yuddhamalla II

*

Narasimha II

*

Arikesarin II

I

Narasimha I Bhadradeva

I

Dugdhamalla (Yuddhamalla II)

I

Baddega-Bhadradeva I

I

Dugdhamalla (Yuddhamalla III)

I

Narasimha II

I

Arikesarin II

I

Bhadradeva Baidyaga (9)
or Baddega II

I

Arikesarin III (9)

(8) For a correct version of Pampa's genealogy, see Rice's edition Introduction, and JAHRS VII. 159 ff.

(9) These two names are found in the Parabhani plates. Reference to Baidyaga-Baddega, son of Arikesarin II is also found in Someśvara's Yasastilaka (Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute p251)

It will be seen from the subjoined dynastic lists that the Vemulavada inscription, Pampa-Bhārata and Parbhani grant; refer to one and a single line of kings, though in the first mentioned document there are obvious gaps. The last two names of the Kollepārā grant, again, agree with the first two names of the Vemulavāda inscription (Yuddhamalla of the latter record being also known as Vinayāditya). The pedigree of the family under discussion may therefore be taken to have commenced with Satyāśraya alias Raṇavikrama (10). Counting backward from the known dates of some of the princes of the line, B.V.Krishna Rao is inclined to identify him with Satyāśraya-Pulakesin II of Vātāpi(11). The nature of the evidence can not warrant any final conclusion about the matter. But one may point out ~~that~~ in this connection, ^{that} in certain records Pulakesin II is actually given the epithet Raṇavikrama(12). The proposed identification, if correct, would then point to the existence of a fifth son of the great Chālukya king, named Prithvīpati(13).

(10) For a detailed discussion of the subject see JAHRS VI.180f.

(11) Ibid. 180.

(12) In line 15 of the Lohanera Plates of Pulakesin II he is described as sva-bhūja-bala-labdha-ṛaṇavikram-ādityah. (G.H.Khare, Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan, Vol.I.p.4ff). The spurious Hosur Plates also give Raṇavikrama as the second name of Pulakesin. See IA.VIII.96; E.C.XI.Gb.48.

(13) B.V.Krishna Rao identifies Prithvīpati with Ādityavarman of the Kurnul Plates. But the grounds stated are not convincing.

The first member of the family in respect of whom we have definite information is Yuddhamalla-Vinayāditya. According to the Kollepārā grant he had the birudas Śrīrāma, Rājavikrama and Nripāṅkusa. We are also told that his feet were worshipped by the Turushkas, Barbaras, Yavanas, and the lords of Kāśmīra, Kambhoja (sic), Magadha, Mālava, Kalinga, Gaṅga, Pallava, Pāṇḍya and Kerala. This description is undoubtedly conventional, and may be rejected as a figment of poetic imagination.

We learn from the Pampa-Bhārata, Vemulavāḍa inscription and Parabhani plates that he ruled over the Sapāḍalaksha country, and bathed his elephants at Bōdana or Podana (15). The last mentioned place-name reminds us of the ancient city of Paudanya, also known as Potana or Potali, the capital of the kingdom of Āsmaka on the Godāvārī (15a). The statement that Yuddhamalla bathed his elephants at this place may either imply that it was situated within his own territory, or that he obtained some military success within it, or in its vicinity. The Vemulavāḍa inscription further states that he took the impregnable fortress of Chitrakūṭa (16). There are two famous localities of this name, one in Rajputana and the other in Central India. The former is justly famous as a defensive stronghold, and the latter as a sacred place of pilgrimage. In the absence of corroborative evidence it is difficult to say if we should associate Yuddhamalla's success with either of these two places. —

(15) Pampa-Bhārata, I.16-17; Vemulavāḍa Inst., lines 10 - 11, 13-15. Parabhani Plates, verse 3. (15a) PHAI 4th ed. p.121.

(16) Lines 16 - 18

In the Parabhani Plates it is claimed that he protected Veṅḡ together with the three Kalingas with his might (17). This may refer to some help rendered by him to the eastern Chālukya king Viṣṇuvardhana IV, when he was attacked by the Rāshtrakūṭa Yuvarāja Govinda (II) some time in or before 769-70 A.D. (18)

Of the next prince Arikeśarin I the Kollēpārā grant says that he had the epithets Samastalokasraya, Tribhuvana-malla, Rājatrinetra and Sāhasarāma. He is also said to have been well-versed in grammar, well acquainted with Dharma (dharmavid), an expert in the art of managing elephants, an adept in law, a skilful archer, and a master of the science of medicine (18a). The Vemulavāda epigraph says that he forcibly conquered the whole of the Veṅḡdeśa (balād grihitākṣhila-Veṅḡdesa) (18b). Pampa informs us that Arikeśarin, in company with ministers, in the reign (literally in the kingdom) of Nirupamadeva, subdued the province of Veṅḡ (Veṅḡvivishaya [mān]...oṭṭi konḍu) and proudly caused (his) name to be written on all the walls of the quarters (19) —————

(17) Verse 4

(18) EI. VI. 213; Altekar, R.T. 45; Ganguly, Eastern Chālukyas, p. 41.

(18a) JAHRS VI. 189 f. (18b) ib. p. 185. line 20.

(19) Nirupamadevana rājyado -

1-Arikeśari Veṅḡvivishaya (mān) māntrigaḷim berasoṭṭi koṇḍu
garvade bareyisidam pesaran akṣhila digbhittigaḷol

(Pāmpa-Bhārata, ed. by Venkatanarayanappa.

Flēt and Rice, depending upon a corrupt reading of the verse, thought that Arikeśarin, with the ministers of the "Bāngerishaya" (?Veṅḡvivishaya), penetrated into the kingdom of Nirupamadeva (DKD. 380; Rice, Pāmpa-Bhārata, Introduction, p. 2). But this view has to be given up now. The reading in Venkatanarayanappa's edition is also confirmed by the evidence of the Lembulavāda inscription. I should like to express my indebtedness in this connection to Dr. Barnett in for helping me to decipher correctly the meaning of the verse under discussion.

Nirupamadeva has been identified by Flacét with the Rashtrakuta king Kalivallabha-Nirupama-Dhāravarsha-Dhruva. The evidence of the Kanarese poet suggests that the prince reversed the policy of his predecessor of maintaining friendly relationship with the eastern Chalukyas, and admitted the overlordship of the Rāshtrakūṭas.

Arikesarin's successor Narasimha seems to have been also known as Rājāditya (19a). He had a brother named Bhadradeva (20). Narasimha's eldest son was Yuddhamalla or Dugdhamalla (21). His son was Baddega, also known as Bhadradeva (22). Pampa devotes several verses to describing his heroism and liberality. Among his specific achievements it is mentioned that he exhibited his valour in fighting forty-two great battles, and after establishing his claim to the title *solada gadda* ("the undefeated hero") he, "as if siezing a crocodile, entered into the water and proudly siezed Bhima" (23).

(19a) Vemṇulavāda ins. line

(20) Pampa, I. 22; Parabhani Plates, Verse 5

(21) Pampa, I. 23;

(22) Pampa I. 29.

(23) Pampa-Bhārata, I. 23-29

The last part of the statement is also confirmed by verse 7 of the Parabhani Plates (24). Fleet's suggestion that Bhima may have been the eastern Chālukya Bhīma I (888-918 A.D.) is now generally accepted. There are evidences to show that his kingdom was overrun by the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II (877 - 913 A.D.) (25). Baddega must have distinguished himself in the services of his overlord about this time. The eastern Chālukya king seems to have taken shelter in some place surrounded by waters, and from there he was captured by Baddega. B.V. Krishana Rao draws attention to a passage in the Pabhubarra grant of the eastern Chālukya king Śaktivarman I which mentions a certain feudatory chief called Baddiga as an enemy of Gunaga Vijayāditya III (844-88) and whom Vijayāditya is said to have humbled and defeated (26). It is quite possible that Baddiga and Baddega refer to one and the same person.

Nothing is known about Baddega's son and successor Yuddhamalla or Dugdhamalla. The latter's son and successor was Narasimha, also called Kali-Narasimha and Naraga (27) He had the titles Bhadrāṅkuśa and Sakala-loka-s-traya (27a). ———

(24) Bhīmam Bhīma-parākram-aika-nīlayan ta(sic) helayaiv-āgrahid
ugram grāham-iv-antar-ambu-samare dory-vikramād Baddigah

(25) DKD. 412. Ganguly, Eastern Chalukyas, p. 67f.

(26) JAHRS. VI. 181

(27) Pampa, I. 33, 35, 37.

(27a) JAHRS, VII. 161.

Pampa praises his greatness as a ruler and his wisdom, intelligence and bravery. The Lālas (i.e. the Lātas) we are told, were frightened merely on hearing that he has resolved to make an attack on them. He harried and burnt the Country of the Seven Malavas (ēlum Mālavumam) (28). He eclipsed the fame of Arjuna by capturing elephants at the beginning of the battle, and putting to flight the army of the Guṇjara king. Like a thunderbolt the host led by him fell upon Mahipāla, who fled in consternation, not stopping to eat or sleep or rest. Finally he bathed his horse at the junction of the Ganges and the sea (Gangavarddhiyol) and became very famous (29). The Vemulavada inscription reports that the prince defeated on fields of battle seven invincible chiefs, and made them tributaries; and further he, the unique hero, alone having subdued the advancing host

(28) Rice's edition has ēlum Māalamuyyam. For suggested identifications of Sapta Mālava see Pol. Hist. of Anc. India, 4th edition, p. 492n.

(29) Pampa Dhārata, I. 3 1-38; Rice's edition Introduction p. 3.

Several scholars have apparently taken verse 36 to mean that Narasimha "plucked from Gurjararāja's arms the goddess of Victory, whom, though desirous of keeping, he held too loosely". But the original text runs as follows:—

Vijay-ārambha-purassara-
Vijaya-gajamgalane pidiṇu Ghurjjararāja
dhvajiniyan iridōḍiṣi bhuja-
Vijayade Vijayanuṁ ilisidaṁ Narasiṁham,

of the Gurjara king , wrote (the story of) his herosim on the slab (attached to) the pillar of a confederacy of kings at Kalapriya (30). There can be hardly any doubt that Pampa and the author of the Vemulavada inscription refer to the same set of events, namely, the defeat of the Sevān Mālavas (probably nothing but an exaggerated allusion to a victory won in the famous Mālava country) and the discomfiture of the Gurjara king Mahīpāla I. It is not altogether impossible that the two incidents were closely connected. Scholars have rightly drawn attention to the fact that Harasimha's successes over the Gurjara monarch were attained when he accompanied his overlord, the Rāshtrakūṭa king Indra III in his northern campaigns.

(30) Lines 28 - 33

Yas-sapta-dussādhyatara nripānān
nirjitya sadyas-semarāṅganeṣhu
vinyasya ke hastam ato natānā
n-tān Mālavanyah (Mālavān yah) Karadī-ḥakāra
pratyudgatām Gurjjararāja-senām
nirjitya rājā svayampka-varah(virah)
Kālapriye rāja-kada(m) bakasya
stā(m) ḥha (? stambhe) sva-sauryya(m) vililekha saile(le)

I am indebted to Dr. Barnett for the above reading of the text which differs in certain respects from the one published by B.K. Krishna Rao.

As a matter of fact the statements of Pampa and the Vemulavada inscription received striking confirmation from the Cambay Plates of Govinda IV, which say that the court yard of Kālapriya was rendered uneven by the strokes of the tusks of Indra III's elephants, and that he completely devastated the hostile city of Mahodayasri, i.e., Kanauj, the metropolis of the Gurjara-Pratihāras(31). The evidence of the Vemulavada inscription clearly suggests that an important engagement in this expedition was fought at Kālapriya or Kālpi, situated on the bank of the Yamunā, in the Jalaun district of the United Provinces(32). The Gurjara king apparently opposed the passage of the invader across the river at the head of a confederacy of chiefs. But Narasimha seems to have inflicted upon them a severe defeat, and made it possible for his sovereign to enter the Doab and sack Kanauj. Pampa's statement that he bathed his horse at the junction of the Ganges and the sea appears to be an exaggeration, for there is no evidence to show that the Rāshtrakūta king came into conflict with the Pālas of Bengal.

Fleet and Rice thought that Narasimha was a disciple of a preceptor named Muni Subhadra, and according to the former scholar, he gave a province to Erapa(33). But D.L.Narasimhachar points out that there is no basis for such views (34)

(31) *I. T.* VII. pp. 38, 43, verse 19.

(32) Kālapriya has been taken by scholars to mean Vijayini. But Altekar points out that it may stand for ~~Kalyani~~ (R. T. 102n). This view seems to us to be more probable as much as Kalpi is actually referred to as Kālapriyapattana in an inscription (*I. T.* Chandankar's List, No. 859)

(33) DKD. 380; Rice, Pampa-Bhārata, Introduction, p. 3.

(34) *J A H R S.* VII. 161 f.

Narasimha was succeeded by his son, by the queen Jakabbe, Arikeśarin II. He had the birudas Guṇārṇava and Tribhuvanamalla. He is called a mahāsāmantādhipati who had attained the five great sounds. This may indicate that there was a change in his official status. We learn from the Vēṃpūlavāda inscription that he married Revakanirmadi, the daughter of King Indra, probably Indra III. The Parabhani Plates disclose the name of another queen named Lokāmbikā, who also belonged to the Rāshtrakūṭa family. But in spite of his close relationship with the sovereign ruling family Arikeśarin II came into hostility with the Emperor Govinda IV. The Vēṃpūlavāda inscription states that he protected Bijja against the wrath of Govinda, and this led to an estrangement between the overlord and the feudatory. More detailed information in this respect has been vouchsafed for us by the poet Pampa (34). We learn from him that Vijayaditya (Bijja) was a Chālukya prince. Fleet suggested that he should be identified with the Eastern Chālukya king Vijayāditya IV. But objections have been taken to this identification on the ground of chronological difficulties (35). D.C. Ganguly thinks that he was Vijayāditya V. (35).

(34) Pampa-Bhārata, IX, prose section following verse 52. See also E. J. XIII. 328f. for notes by Dr. Barnett.

(35) JAHRS, VI. 175f.

(36) Eastern Chālukyas, p. 77.

It seems that about this time a struggle for the succession to the Eastern Chālukya throne was going on, and Govinda and Arikesarin apparently took different sides. Govinda sent some great feudatories to bring the recalcitrant vassal to book, but Arikesarin drove them off. It is said that he finally killed his sovereign, and "fittingly conveyed the Universal Empire to Baddega-deva (i.e. Amoghavarsha III) who came trusting him". There are independent evidences to prove that Govinda IV had alienated the sympathy and support of his feudatories, of whom Arikesarin must have been an important one, and this ultimately brought about his destruction (7). The Vēṃpūlavāda inscription also states that it was Arikesarin II who killed Govindarāja(38).

The Chālukya prince is justly remembered as the friend of the poet Pampa, who wrote his Vikramārjuna-vijaya, popularly known as Pampa-Bhārata, to celebrate the heroic qualities of his patron. As a mark of appreciation of the work Arikesarin granted to the poet the agrahara village Dharmavurem in Bachchhe 1000.

(37) A. R. T. p. 107

(38) JAHRS, VI, p. 187, Lines 47-48

Arikesarin's son and successor Bhadradeva or Badyaya(?Baddega) seems to have inherited his father's love of learning. The Jaina writer Somadeva states in the colophon of his *Yasastilaka-champu* that the book was written at Gangādhara when Badyaga was reigning(39). It has been suggested that this prince ruled over a part of the Mysore state. But this view must be given up in as much as we now know that Lembulapataka in Kemmnagar district of the Nizam's Dominions was the capital of this branch of the Chālukyas.

Bhadradeva's son and successor was Arikesarin III. He is the last known prince of the family. He issued the ~~Porabhan~~ ^{Purabhan} ~~Purabhan~~ ^{Purabhan} grant to record a gift to a Jaina named Somadeva who was probably the same as the writer of *Yasastilaka-Champu*.

(39) JAHRS, VII. 163.

CHAPTER VII.

THE REVIVAL OF THE CHĀLUKYAN ASCENDANCY.

I. ^{The} Decline and Fall of the Rāshtrakūṭas.

Krishna III was the last great king of the Rāshtrakūṭa family. There is evidence to show that his authority was acknowledged in Malwa and Baghelkhand in the north and the Tanjore District of the Madras Presidency in the South. Krishna died in ^{about} 967 A.D. (1) and within six years of his death the Rāshtrakūṭa hegemony in the Deccan became a thing of the past. One can hardly fail to notice that in the case of the Rāshtrakūṭas, as it was in that of their predecessors, - the Chālukyas of Vātāpi - the end was quite sudden and hardly expected. A close study of their history during the last forty-five or forty-six years (927 (2) - 973 A.D.), however, reveals certain interesting facts. The period is covered by the reigns of six kings - Amoghavarsha II, Govinda IV, Amoghavarsha III, Krishna III, Khotṭiga and Karka II. The first mentioned king ruled for a year and was then deposed by his younger brother Govinda IV. But even he proved unworthy of holding such an exalted position. Unmindful of his regal duties, and addicted to the pleasures of the senses, and also probably tyrannical, he forfeited the goodwill of his subjects, and lost his life

(1) EI. XXI. 261

This is the last known date of Indira III.

(2) EI. XXVI. 161f.

at the hands of the Chālukya prince Arikesarin II, after a reign of about four years (930-34)(3). His successor Amoghavarsha III is praised only for his religious disposition, and it is said that he ascended the throne after being entreated by the feudatories to maintain the greatness of the sovereignty of the Rattas(4). Pampa, however, claims that his patron (Arikesarin II) "fittingly conveyed the universal empire to Baddega-deva (Amoghavarsha III) who came trusting to him" (5). It is well known that during the reign of the fifth king in the above list, namely Khottiga, the Paramāra chief Harsha-Siyaka, who is known to have acknowledged the suzerainty of Krishna III (6) fell upon the Rashtrakūṭa capital and sacked it. The final crash came in the reign of Karka II, when another feudatory of Krishna III put an end to his line.

(3) EI.XXVI.163. (4) Deolli Plates (verses 18-19) and Karhad Plates (verse 20) of Krishna III EI V.194A. IV 283, f.

(5) EI.XIII. 328-29.

(6) cf Harbola Grants of Harsha Siyaka, EI.XIX.241.

The chain of events noted above clearly suggests that the Royal race of the Rāshtrakūtas ceased to produce any more men of outstanding character and ability. The hands of the feudatories could now be seen almost everywhere. They seem to have grown more powerful, more ambitious, and more arrogant. No dynasty could hope to retain its influence under such conditions, and the Rāshtrakūtas were no exception. Krishna III, alone among these later kings, had a long reign, and was endowed with kingly ambition and soldierly vigor. But he was an exception. He was able to put off the final end for some time, but could not prevent it. His succession to the throne does not seem to have been peaceful. The spurious Sudi Plates of Būtaga II and the Kudalur grant of his son Kārasimha II record that after the death of Rāddegga (Amoghavarsha III), the former siezed the horses, elephants, white umbrella and the throne by killing a certain Lalīcya, and gave them to Krishna(7). Here, then, we have some evidence to suggest that there was already a movement afoot to oust the Rāshtrakūtas from power more than three decades before the event actually took place.

(7) EI. III, 180, 183; MAS 1921 p 11 ; Sources of Karnataka history, vol.I. 105; Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions , p.45; E.C. VIII, Nagara 35, Text.p. 251

In the Sravana-Belgola epigraph of Mārasimha II (c.963-974) it is claimed that he "displayed his prowess in breaking the pride of Allā, who stood up against Vanagajamallā" (Krishna III), and that "he preserved by his valour all the insignia of royalty, including the throne , for Gandamārtanda (Krishna III) (7a). The significance of the last part of the statement can hardly be missed. It shows that in the sixties of the tenth century the hostility against the Rāshtrakūṭas gathered fresh momentum. Within a few years came the sack of Manyakheta, and the material and moral bankruptcy of the ruling family became patent to all. Everything was thus heading for the final catastrophe, and the coup de grace was delivered by Taila II.

Ec. II. (Newca). No. 59

(7a) ^ Bhāḍana grant of Aparājita, verse 11, probably contains an allusion to some misfortune that befell Krishna III (E.I. III, 272, and note 6.)

II. Taila II - The Restorer.

We have already seen that new evidences have come forth to show that Taila II began his career as a feudatory of Krishna III, and was governing the Tardavādi Thousand Province as a *anuga-jivita* (a follower's or a servant's fier) in 965 A.D. It is not a little curious that, amongst all others, it fell upon him, a descendant of the Old Imperial Chālukyas, to give the fatal blow to the Nāshtrakūta rule. Yet it does not seem to have been purely an accident of history. The inscriptions of the Chālukyas of Kalyāni suggest that the memory of the ancient sovereignty of the family was tenderly cherished by the descendants as a most valued aspiration; and the prevailing conditions in the Deccan in his days must have fired the imagination of Taila for its realization, and spurred him into action. The substantial improvement in the status and influence of his family that seems to have taken place under his two immediate predecessors, probably added material strength to Taila's mental resolution. Moreover, the account of the various branches of the Western Chālukyas that we have given in the preceding chapter, meagre though it is, at least shows that they were not altogether a negligible factor in Deccan politics during the closing years of the

Rāshtrakūṭa rule. Some members of the race were intimately connected with the imperial house; others held important administrative posts; still others distinguished themselves as soldiers and conquerors. It is not impossible that Taila, as a ^{son} ~~sign~~ of the old ruling house, and as a champion of the sovereignty of the Chālukyas, was able to bring to bear all the resources of his race in his bid to revive its long-lost power. This is however a mere guess at present.

The overthrow of the Rāshtrakūṭas by Taila II is referred to in a number of Chālukya inscriptions, and is also attested by several Śilāhāra grants. The Sogal inscription of Taila, dated 980 A.D. says that "he cut off the head of Ranakambha and Kakkala", while his Nilgund inscription states that he obtained the fortune of the glorious Rāshtrakūṭa king Vira²mārttanda (probably an epithet of Karka II) . (8). The Bhadana grant of Śilāhāra Aparājita (997 A.D.) says that Kakkala was overthrown by Taila "as a light is extinguished by a fierce wind, and of the once flourishing Ratta rule, there remained only the memory " (9).

(8) EI. XVI.4; EI.IV. 204 ff; BKT. Intro. p.IV

(9) EI. III. 272; Garne, Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State, 48, 58.

The Kharepatan inscription of Śīlāhāra Raṭṭarāja refers to the same incident without any further embellishment(10). The Kauthem Plates tell us that Taila became possessed of the royal fortune of the Chālukyas "which had been brought low by the deceitful practices of the Rāshtrakūṭas", After defeating and slaying in battle Karkara and Raṇastambha, "both of whom were bound to the kingdom of the Rāshtrakūṭa family ; who from their great strength, were manifestly like the two feet of Kali stretched out in the act of striding; who were cruel and closely knit together in the body; who were like sprouts of hostility to the superiors; and who were, as it were, the young shoots of the creeper of fortune of the Rāshtrakūṭa family"(11). The Managoli inscription of 1161A.D. records that Taila "annihilated King Karkara and King Raṇakambha, the sun and the moon in the Rāshtrakūṭa sky, and amidst the applause of the whole world, with an exceedingly great effort acquired the sovereignty of the land of Kuntala" (12).

(10) EI. III. 298. The Chikodi Plates of Śīlāhāra Avasara III dates 988 A.D. says that Taila uprooted the Rāshtrakūṭas in the time of Vaddiga, son of Khotṭiga (BISMJ for S.1835, pp. 431-35). The existence of Vaddiga, however, is not otherwise known.

(11) IA. XVI. 23.

(12) EI. V.16

Altekar thinks that Karkara or Kakkala , and Ranastabha, or Ranakambha, were two of Karka II's Rāshtrakūṭa kinsmen who were his generals and advisers (13). But we find no reason to reject Kielhorn's proposed identification of Karkara with Karka II himself (14). The word nripa (king) used in connection with Karkara in the Managoli inscription supports this view. The identity of Ranastambha is unknown till now. He is called in the last mentioned record an āvanipāla (a king) and was apparently a close associate of Karka II. If the description of the two persons in the Kauthem Plates is not mere poetical effusion, then it probably reveals the real character and reputation of the Taila's adversaries, which were obviously far from commendable. One rather feels tempted to think that the last Rāshtrakūṭa king was a monstrous tyrant who heeded not the wholesome advice of his elders, and in company of his friend indulged in wanton cruelties. The state of things thus existing seems to have given Taila II the immediate opportunity to mobilise all the discontented elements in the state, reinforced perhaps by those who sought to deprive Krishna III of his throne, and to initiate the dynastic revolution.

(13) R.T. p.127, 131 (14). ^{List of Indian Inscriptions} Ed. VII. No. 150. Altekar draws attention to two epigraphs, E.C. VII. Sb 476 and 479, which according to him show that Karka II was alive till c. 991 A.D. (R.T. 131). But the former belongs to the reign of Kannaradeva (Krishna III), and is dated 939 A.D. The latter contains no date.

The overthrow of Karaka II, however, did not at once make Taila master of the entire situation. It actually began the long process which finally ended in the establishment of the Chālukya ascendancy in the Deccan. Among the well-wishers of the Rāshtrakūṭas still left Ganga Nārasiṃha II was the foremost. He now made a desperate attempt to continue the old line by crowning Indra IV, a grandson of Kṛishṇa III and son of his own sister. We learn from a Bravara-Belgola epigraph that Jagadekavīra (Nārasiṃha II), at the command of Indrarāja (IV) conquered Vajjala, the younger brother of Pātālamalla (15). The Trishashūṭhilakṣhaṇa Purāṇa of Chāmunḍarāya informs us that the defeat of Vajjala was inflicted on the battle field of Khēḍaga(? Khetaka) (16). The incident shows that Indra IV ruled ~~for~~ at least for a short time (17). But the King-maker must have soon realised the futility of his effort. Perhaps sick at heart at this failure, and at the disloyalty, treachery and intrigues that prevailed in those days, he sought solace in death by taking the vow of Sallākhana. This event happened before the middle of 974 A.D. Indra IV also took the same vow and starved himself to death in 982 A.D. Nothing is known about the closing years of his life.

(15) E.C.II. No. 542⁸¹ (new Ed). Kielhorn, List of Inscriptions of Southern India, No. 136. (16) Sources of Karnataka History, Vol. I. p. 111.

(17) Fleet says that "there is nothing in the Western Chālukya records or elsewhere to shew that the attempt that was made in connection with him was even temporarily successful." (D.K.D. 424-25).

Mārasimha II was succeeded by Pañchāla whose relation with his predecessor is not known. He was possibly an usuper. An inscription from Mulgund, dated 975 A.D. represents him as ruling over a kingdom which was bounded by the eastern, western and southern oceans, and by the great river on the north (18). His epithet Chālukya-Pañchānana, "a lion to the Chālukyas" (19) clearly indicates that he followed his predecessor's policy of opposition to the Chālukya rule. This is also borne out by Ranna's description of Taila II as Pañchāla-madebha-pañchānana ("a lion to the ~~making~~ elephant Pañchāla) (2). The same authority also informs us that Taila's general Nāgadema defeated the army of Pañchāla (21). The hostile chief ultimately met his doom at the hands of another subordinate of Taila, named Bhūtiga (22). Some time before 977 A.D. The exploit earned for Bhūtiga the title of Āhavamalla from his sovereign. The victory over the Gangas not only relieved Taila from the clutches of an implacable enemy, but it also led to the extension of Chālukya influence over Banavāsi, Belvola, Puligere and some other neighbouring districts. These territories have been under the Gangas since the time of Būtuga II (23). But some time before 980 A.D. they passed into the hands of Taila's subordinate Kannapak (24).

(18) EI. VI. 259f. (19) IA. XL. 44; Gadāyuddha (Iyengar), p. 15. (21) Ibid, p. 42.

(22) IA. XII. 96, 98. (23) Atakur Inscription. EI. VI. 55, 57; Bombay-Karnataka Inscriptions, Vol I, Pt. I. Nos 36, 37, 38, 41, 42.

(24) He preceded his brother Sobhana for whom we have an inscription dated in 980 A.D. (Ek. I. 1. 1. No. 45). Cf. also the Nilgund Inscription (EI. IV. 206 ff).

Nāgavarma (12th century), in his Kāvyañavalokaṇa, refers to Taila's fight with Būtuga, Riruga and Goyeya at the battles of Toragale (Torgal in the Kolhapur state), Rattahalli (in Kod taluk Dharwar District) and Ajiragola respectively (25). Būtuga was most probably identical with Ahavamalla-Bhūtiga, who killed Pañchāla, and whose descendants are known to have been ruling at Toragale till the close of the twelfth century (26). It seems that all these personages were conquered by Taila during the course of his operations against Pañchāla. Būtuga-Bhūtiga, after his defeat, apparently entered the service of the victor and fought against the Ganga king. The Rattas of Saundatti (Belgaum district) also may have offered their submission about this time. Of their representatives, Śāntivarman and Kārtavīrya I, we have inscriptions dated in 980 A.D. and both of them acknowledged the suzerainty of the Chālukya king in their records. (27)

(25) Rice's edition, p.35, verse 212. Introduction, p.50.

(26) IA. XII. 96f.

(27) JABRAS X, 204 ff; E I. XVI. 1 ff.

(28) IA. XI. 43 ff; sources of Karnataka History, I.I. 132.

During the period 973-982 A.D. Taila carried his arms in other directions as well. In the *Gadāyuddha Raṇa* describes the Chālukya king as "a poison to the Rashtrakūṭas", and "a lion to the rutting elephant Pañchāla". In addition to this the poet says that the king was the terrifier of Karahātaka, capturer of Pallikōṭa, putter to flight of Bhadraka, a lion to the elephant the Krākālika-rāja, the sun in the sky of the family of the Yādavas, fever of flight to the Chūrjaras(sic) and the sun to the whole of Mālava (29). The Sogal inscription of 980 A.D. states that the Chālukya king was like "an axe to the great mountain the potent Chola, a lion to those elephants the Lālas" (30). The Milgund inscription of 982 tells us that "on hearing that name of whom Ahavamalla, (a *birudā* of Taila) which he acquired by the extirpation of all the armies of hostile kings, the Choda and Andhra rulers and the Pāṇḍya king as well as King Utpala, bewildered, deliberate what to do, where to go and where to dwell"(31). An inscription of the time of Taila III records that his great ancestor was the cause of trembling to the Lālas, Mālavas, Cheras and Gurjaras (32).

(29) IA.XL.43f; sources of Karnataka History, I. I. 132; *Gadāyuddha*, p15.

(30) EI.XVI. 1ff. (31) EI.IV 206, lines 7 - 9.

(32) EC.VII.sk.108

From the Ajitapurāna of Ranna we learn that Nāgadeva, who defeated the army of Pañchala, also drove out Mallama from Karahāḍa, undoubtedly the same as Karahātaka or Karhad in the Satara district, at the command of Ballaha or Vallabha, i.e. Taila II (33). Pallikota is mentioned in several inscriptions at Gooty in the Anantapur district (34), but its exact location is not known. The identity of Bhadraka and Krākalika-rāja also cannot be determined.

The subjugation of the Belvola, Puligere and the Karahātaka provinces brought Taila into direct contact with the Kōṅkana country. About the period with which we are immediately concerned here the bulk of the territory was under the Śilāhāra chief Aparājita. One of his inscriptions reveals that the kingdom over which he ruled extended from Lata to Chandrapura (supposed by some to be modern Chandor in Goa (35)) in the south and from the country of Bhillama, (second Yādava king of that name) to the Western Ocean.

(33) IA.XL.42; Sources of Karnataka History, I. 135; Ajitanāthapurāṇa (Kannāṭaka Kāvya Kulānidhi series), pt I, pp. 5ff.

(34) ~~SEP~~. VIII. Nos. 364, 368, 372, etc.,

(35) Moraes, Kadamba-Kula, p. 168.

It included Saṃjānabhūmi (modern Sanjan), Puṇakadeśa (modern Poona region), Saṅgameśvara and Chipulana, i.e. Chiplun, both in the Ratnagiri district (36). The territory lying further towards the south was under the rule of another branch of the Silāhāra race. The Chikodi plates of Avasara III of this family, dated S 910 (987-88 A.D.) refer to the overthrow of the Rāshtrakūṭa rule by Taila II, but mention no suzerain ruler as such (37). His son Rattarāja acknowledged the overlordship of Taila's son Satyāśraya. It is not unlikely that the subjection of Rattarāja, or his immediate predecessor took place during the reign of Taila. We have, however, no direct evidence in this respect. Fortunately for us Ranna throws a little more light on Taila's relations with Aparājita. The poet says that at the command of his father prince Satyāśraya routed the army of the lord of Konkana. Aparājita, siezed with fear, took shelter in a neighbouring island, probably Puri (as did the Mauryas when confronted with the arms of Pulakesin II). —————

(36) Baroda Museum Plates of Aparājita, dated S 915, verses 31-32
 Siddhām Saṃjānabhūmim prithutara-Puṇakam desam ajñā-
 vidheyam, Sahyam pratyanta-kāntam nija-chata-kālitam
 Saṃgamādīśvarākḥvam (Sākhyam) namākhyāna prasādhyam Chipulana-
 viśayam naśta-vaishamya-bhāya (Kṛitvā tejonubhāvād dhara-
 vibhava-vihṛit) ev-ājñeyā yah prasāsti || 31 || ā-Lāṭadeśād
 bhuvī Bililamiya desam vidhāy-avadhīm atra yasya | ā-
 pāśchimāgher-atṭha Chandra-pūrvam puram vidhṛitya prabhukt
 aprabhāva || 32 || Cadre, Important Inscriptions of the
 Baroda state, pp. 40, 51

(37) BISMJ. for S 1835. pp 31-34.

But the victor refrained from slaying him "since it is not consistent with true valour to kill men who embrace a linga, enter water, put on a woman's garments, or ascend an ant-hill. Hemmed in by the ocean on one side and the sea of Satyāśraya's army on the other, Aparāditya (sic) trembled like an insect on a stick, both ends of which are on fire". The prince burned Aṃśunagara in Aparāditya's (sic) country, and received twenty-one elephants. Banna claims that his hero extended the kingdom of his father up to the western ocean. (38) Aparādita did not assume any higher title than mahāmandaleśvara. This shows that he continued to hold only a feudatory rank, and in all possibility admitted the supremacy of Taila II. But the regretful way in which ^{his} records/refer (39) to the passing away of the Rāshtrakūṭa rule indicates that he hardly entertained any special feeling of loyalty to his new sovereign.

(38) IA. XL. 42; Gadāyuddha (Iyengar), Ht 4-5.

(39) Baroda Museum Plates, verse 15 (Important inscriptions from the Baroda State, pp. 48f, 58f); Bhadana Plates, Verse 13 (E I. III. 272f).

The real character of the Chālukya-Silāhāra (of north Konkana) relation is illustrated by the fact that Jayasīma II, Somesvara I and Vikramāditya VI came into armed conflict with the latter, and it was only the military might of the Chālukya monarchs that could enforce their authority over the successors of Aparājita.

Besides Satyāśraya several other persons claim a share in bringing about the subjugation of the Konkanas under the Chālukyas. One of them was Dhalla, described as the great minister in charge of records (mahāmantrākṣhapatalā dhipati. (40) . Another was Sobhana, the governor of the Belvola-Puligere provinces, who assumed the title Konkana Bhayankara (the terrifier of Konkana) (41). A third was a certain Kesava, who is said to have won the admiration of Taila in fights on the battle-fields of Konkana and the bank of the Godāvarī (42).

In his grants dated 993 A.D. it is recorded that Aparājita rendered help to a ruler named Goma, enabled a certain Aiyapadeya to retain his throne, and granted protection to Bhīllama (43).

(40). Bk. I. 1. 1. No. 52. lines 7 - 9.

(41) Bk. I. 1. 1. No. 47. (42) Ib. No. 76.

(43) Gadre, Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State, pp. 35ff

In several later records the names of two other chiefs, (?) Amma and (?) Maṇamvuva are found together with that of Bhillama, to all of whom the Śitāhāra king is said to have offered refuge (44). It is not stated by what enemy or enemies all these personages were afflicted. But in view of what we know of the contemporary history of the Western Deccan, the name of the Chālukya king^{is} recalled to our mind in this connection. Bhillama has been identified with the second Yādava king of that name. He was, as we have seen, the eastern neighbour of the Śitāhāra prince. The Yādavas ruled the Seunadeśa which lay in the direction of Aurangabad, Nask and Khandesh. Ranna's description of Taila II as "the sun in the sky of the Yādava family" may indicate that the Chālukya king conferred some favour upon the Yādavas after they had admitted his suzerainty. Bhillama II very probably fought against the Paramāra Vakpati-Muñja on the side of Taila II (45).

(44) cf. EI.XXV.53f; IA.IX.33f. The original has Bhillamammamanamvuva-kehitibhritam.

(45) see below.

After receiving the submission of the northern Silāhāras and the Yādavas Taila II appears to have attacked Lāṭa. In the last quarter of the tenth century the territory is found under the rule of Bārappa who belonged to a feudatory Chālukya family (46). The Gujarat chroniclers describe him as "the general of Tailapa of Telingāna" (47). An inscription of his grandson Kīrtirāja informs us that it was he "who obtained the Lātadeśa". (48) It is, therefore, quite probable that Bārappa was placed in charge of the province after it was incorporated by the Chālukya king with his dominions. Lāṭa, however, soon became the fighting ground of the Chālukyas, Chaulukyas^(of Gujrat) and Paramāras. Merutunga tells us that the Chaulukya King Mūlarāja I, whose known dates range between 974 and 995 A.D., was once attacked simultaneously by Bārappa and the King of Śākambharī, and was forced to take shelter in the Kanthā-durga. The former, however, patched up his quarrel with the ^{Śākambharī king,} latter, and then entering Lāṭa defeated and killed Bārappa (49).—

(46) DHNT. II. 938.

(47) ib. 937. Fleet doubts the correctness of this statement. (DKD 431n). The Śukṛitasamkīrtana represents Bārappa as the general of a king of Kanauj. But this is improbable in the view of the known history of Kanauj at this time.

(48) DHNT. II. 938. (49) ib. 938-39.

This statement receives support from the fact that Goggirāja, son and successor of Barappa, is said to have recovered his land from demon-like enemies (thought to be the Chaulukyas) who seized it (50). Taila's victory over the Gurjara (51) referred to by Ranna, was probably obtained on this occasion. The poet further says that at the command of his father prince Satyāśraya defeated the Gurjara army. It is perhaps permissible to conjecture that Taila sent his son to the aid of Goggiraja, and to relieve Lata by expelling the invaders. The mission seems to have been successfully accomplished by the prince.

About this time the Paramāra king Vākpati-Munja also appeared on the scene. His contest with Taila II should not perhaps be viewed merely as a struggle between two neighbouring kings for ascendancy over each other. It seems to have a wider significance. In the earliest record of the Paramāras, that has been discovered as yet, they appear to claim descent from the Rāshtrakūṭa race (52). Munja himself assumed the characteristic Rāshtrakūṭa titles of Amoghavarsha, Prithvī-mallabha and śrī-vallabha (53). It has therefore been suggested with some amount of plausibility, that Munja may have regarded himself as a rightful claimant to the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom (54)

(50) Ib. 940. (51). The term Gurjara as used in the Rāshtrakūṭa records usually denotes the Gurjara-Pratihāras, whose power was now confined to the vicinity of Kanauj. In later inscriptions it often means the inhabitants of modern Gujarat. It seems to us that Ranna has used the term in this latter sense. (52). Harbola plates of Harsha, EI. XIX, 237; HPD 7f. DHNI. 11.942.

(53) DHNI. 11.852

(54) Ib. 854.

~~About this time the Paramara king Vakapati-Muñja whose~~
~~known dates extended from 975-995 A.D. also appeared on the~~
~~scene.~~ In the Udaipur prasasti it is claimed that "the lotus
 feet (of Muñja) were coloured by the jewels on the heads
 of the Karnāṭas, Lāṭas, Keralas and Cholas"(55). Karnāṭas
 undoubtedly refer to the western Chālukyas, and the Lāṭas
 constituted ^{one of} their provinces. Merutunga records that Muñja
 conquered Taila six times (or, according to another version,
 sixteen times). Then being still harassed by the Chālukya
 king, he led another expedition to the south, and
 disregarding the warnings of his minister, crossed the
 Godāvari. Taila, "by force and fraud", cut Muñja's army
 to pieces and took him prisoner. He was finally put to death
 after having suffered great humiliation at the hands of his
 rival (57). Merutunga's account may be a little overdrawn.
 But it points to at least more than one conflict between
 Taila and Muñja; and the Gaḍāyuddha and Wilgund Plates bear
 testimony to the fact that the rivalry between the two kings
 began before or in about 982 A.D. The Kauthem Plates confirm
 the statement that Muñja was cast into prison; while a Gaḍag
 inscription of a late date reports that Taila killed the
 Paramāra ruler(57).

(55) EI. I. 235. verse 14.

(56) HPD. 58f.

(57) DKD 426, EI.V. 350. Verse 2.

In the Sangamner Plates (dated 1000 A.D.) of the Yādava feudatory Bhīllama II it is recorded that it was he who destroyed the royal fortune of Muñja on the battle^{field} and "made the goddess of fortune observe the vow of a chaste woman in the house of the illustrious king Ranaranga-Bhīma (identified by Kielhorn with Taila II)" (58). The Chālukya king must have received considerable help from the Yādava chief. The minister Dhalla is also represented as a subduer of the Mālavas (59).

In the Navasāhasānka-charita it is stated that Muñja's successor Sindhurāja recovered his kingdom (sva-rājya) which was occupied by the lord of Kuntala (60). This suggests that Taila overran at least part of the Paramāra kingdom after Muñja's death, and annexed it to his own empire. We cannot, however, determine, in the present state of our knowledge, whether it was from Taila, or his son Satyāśraya, that Sindhurāja got back the lost possessions of his family.

(58) EI. II. 213. lines 40-42. Some scholars doubt the identity of Taila II and Ranaranga-Bhīma. But attention may be drawn in this connection to the epithets Ranaranga-bhishana and Ranaranga-rākshasa, applied to Taila by Ranna (sources of Karnataka History, I. 132); Gaḍāyuddha (Iyengar), p. 15.

(59) Bkt. I. 18. No. 52, line 9.

(60) I. 74; IA. 1933, p. 102.

About Taila's conflict with the Cholas, referred to in the Sogal and Nilgund inscriptions, no details have come down to us. His adversary was apparently Uttama-Chola (969-85). An inscription from Kogali in the Bellary district, dated 992 A.D. describes Taila as chōrārimāri. (61) This phrase has been taken to imply that the Chālukya king also fought with Uttama's successor Rājarāja I, who in his inscriptions, dated in the eighth and ninth years (993-994 A.D.), claims that he conquered Gangapādi (the Ganga territory in the south and east of Mysore), Tadigaipādi (the west of Bangalore district) and Nulambapādi, which comprised parts of Bellary, Tumkur and Chitaldrug districts and may have extended further towards the east (61A). We shall see below that inscriptions of Taila have been discovered in the Shimoga and Chitaldrug districts of Mysore and the Bellary, Anantapur, Kurnul and Cuddapah Districts of the Madras Presidency. Under the circumstance a clash between Taila II and Rājarāja I very likely took place about 992-93 A.D. But it is extremely doubtful if the latter could have conquered the whole of Nulambapādi as Sastri would have us believe (62).

(61) S.P.I.X.1.No.77. The equation of Chōra with Chola, though possible, seems to be a little dubious. (61A). N.K.Sastri, Cholas I, 207 - 10. (62) ib.211. Note that in 992 A.D. Taila II was ruling from Bodda, about 20 miles due west of Penukonda in the Anantapur district and in 996 his authority was still acknowledged in the region of the Bellary taluk (S.P.I.X.1. Nos.77 and 78).

The ascription to Taila of victories over two other peoples of the Far South, namely the Pāndyas and Cheras, seems to us to be without any foundation. On the other hand the Andhras may have felt the might of his arms. Apart from the statement found in the Nilgund inscription, a corrupt line in the description of Taila's achievement in the Gadāyuddha seems to contain a reference to his successes in the Andhra country (62ⁿ). Again, we find Dhalla taking part in the campaign of his sovereign on the eastern coast of the Deccan, and it is said that he caused amazement among the people of Veṅḡ. (63). We may note that the period between 973 and 999 A.D. in the history of Veṅḡ was one of great confusion (64) and this may have afforded an opportunity to Taila to interfere in this region.

Some other incidents of this reign are mentioned by Ranna in his Ajitapurāṇa which was finished in 993 A.D. (65). One Govindara came against Taila allied with traitors. But he was opposed and put down by Ponnamayya, who, however, seems to have received a mortal wound and died on the bank of ^{the} Kāverī. His nephew, Gundamayya gained a victory over a certain Gōnara. —

(62a) The line runs as follows: jaolāndhra(?) -kulīna-bhuvana-sad-gunamaṇi-vibhūṣhanam (IA. XL. 44; Sources of Karnataka History, I. 132).

(63) Bk. I. 1.1. No. 52. line 9. (64) Ganguly, Eastern Calukyās, p. 91; Sastri, Colas, I. 214 ff. (65) Sources of Karnataka History, I. p. 134; IA. XL. p. 41f; Ajitapurāṇa (Karnāṭakakāvya-kulamidiḥi Saṅg), pp 64f.

The same work mentions that Dhalla's son Nagadeva, who defeated Rañchāla and drove out Mallama from Karhad, showed great heroism in the war with "the Kumaras" in the presence of the king, and was elevated to the position of a general. The exact import of all these incidents can not, however, be determined in the absence of further details.

Taila seems to have brought under his sway the greater part of the Deccan plateau. His inscriptions have been found at Narsalgi, Hullur, Karjol and Kakhandki in the Bijapur district; at Sogal, Huli and Saundatti in the Belgaum District; at Kurhatti, Hosaur and Nilgund in the Dharwar district; at Kudatini, Kanchagara-Belagalli, Bagali and Kogali in the Bellary district; at Talgund and Tyavangi in the Shimoga district; at Vasana in the Chitaldrug district; and at Gollapalle in the Cuddapah district (66). The record found at the last mentioned place states that the king made a grant for a temple situated in the Nandikotkur taluk in the Kurnul district (67). Rodda, about 20 miles due west from Penukonda in the Anantapur district is mentioned as a place of residence of Taila in one of these records (68).

(66) For the inscriptions of Taila see Bk. I. 11. Nos. 40, 45-47; Bk. 170, 179 of 1934. ASI. 1934, 135-37, 241; IV. 204 ff. VI. 254, XVI 1ff. XVIII. 17 ff. SII. IX. 1. Nos. 73-78. SIE. A. R. 1938, p. 83. E. C. VII. Sk. 179, c1, 7; XI. 2g. 114, etc.,

(67) SIE. A. R. 1938, p. 83 and note (68) SII. IX. 1. No. 77.

We now know that he ruled from Mānyakheta (69). This proves that he seized the home province of the Rāshtrakūtas (which must have comprised parts of the Gulbarga district in the Nizam's dominions and the adjoining territories) together with their capital city. Among other provinces, included definitely within the Empire of Talla, mention may be made of Tardavādi 1000 (comprising parts of the Bijapur district), Belvola 3000 (which included parts of the Dharwar and Belgaum districts and Kukkanur in the south-west corner of the Nizam's dominions), Fuligere 3000 (which lay round Lakshmeshwar in the Miraj State), Banavāsi 12000 (parts of the North Kanara, Dharwar and the Shimoga districts), Kōgali 500 (round about Hadagalli and the Harpanahalli taluk in the Bellary district), Kisukād 40 (Pattadakal region), Kadambalige 1000 ("east of the Tungabhadra down to Holalkere in the Chitaldrug district"), and Sāntalige 1000 (southern part of the Shimoga district round about the Tirthahalli taluk). (70)

(69) Bk.170. of 1934; ASI. 1934, p.241.

(70). See Bk.II. 1.1. Nos.40,45,46; EI.IV 204,ff; E.I. VI.254. For identifications of the different provinces see DKD 304,430, 547-48. Mysore and Coorg from inscriptions, pp.71, 139.

The inclusion of the Karahātaka province and Lāta provinces within the dominions of the Chālukya king is attested, as we have seen, by Ranna and the Gujarat chronicles. The Yādavas of Seunadesa and the Silāharas of Konkana also probably rendered homage to him. The facts cited above tend to show that the authority of Taila II extended over a territory which stretched roughly from the lower course of the Narmada and the Satpura mountains in the north; On the west it was bounded by the sea; On the south it seems to have included the whole of the Shimoga district, the northern parts of the Chitaldrug district, the whole of the Bellary, Anantapur and Kurnul Districts, and the adjacent parts of the Cuddapa district, but some of these territories were possibly lost to the Cholasⁱⁿ about 992 - 93 A.D. The eastern boundary cannot be determined with any amount of precision. Taila may, however, have exercised sway over the greater parts of the Nizam's dominions though direct evidence on this point is lacking.

An inscription of Vikramāditya VI records that Taila II ruled for twenty-four years, beginning with the year Śrīmukha which corresponded to 973-74 A.D.(71). These years covered the independent rule of the Chālukya king. The earliest record belonging to this period that has been found till now is dated S.897, Yuva-samvatsara, corresponding to 976 A.D.(72), and the latest is dated S 919, Hēmalambin Samvatsara, corresponding to 997 A.D.(73). The ~~twenty-four~~^{year} of Taila's reign has a special significance for the history of the Deccan. By reviving the Western Chālukya suzerainty almost exactly at the moment when the Rāshtrakūṭa power weakened, Taila largely preserved the political unity of the great southern plateau and saved it from being overrun by ambitious monarchs from the north as well as from the south.

(71) IA. XXI. 167

(72) SII. IX.1. 73.

(73) E.C.VII.8k.179.

We have several variants of the name of the King like Tailapa, Tailapayya and Nūrmadi-Taila. He had the usual biruda of Āhavamalla, but in a Karjol inscription dated 996 A.D. he is styled Bhuvanaikamalla-Āhavamalla (74). In the Gadāyuddha and Sogal inscription he is described as Bhujabala-Chakravarti (75), and the Sanjanner plates seem to refer to him as Hanaraṅga-Bhīma. From the Anur inscription of Vikramāditya V we learn that the king followed in his life the principles laid down in the Manusmṛitā (76).

Taila II married Jakavve, the daughter of a Rāshtrakūta chief named Bhanaṇṇama, and had by her at least two sons, Satyāśraya and Daśavarman, or Yaśovarman, of whom the former succeeded him. The Karjol inscription referred to above mentions a mahāsāmantādhipati Daśavarma, who is described as "a bee to the lotus feet of Bhuvanaikamalla-Āhavamalla" (77). The individual should probably be identified with the second son of the king.

(74) Bk.178⁹ of 1933-34; ASR. 1934. p.241.

(75) IA.XL.41f; EI.XVI.4.

(76) EI.XVI.28. The king is described as Manu-mārgg-āgrani chakravarti-tilakam.

(77) Bk.179 of 1933-34.

Before we close the account of Taila II several prominent persons of his court need mention. One of them was Īśvaraghaṭisāsa, styled the Jagadguru (the Universal Preceptor), who was considered to be "the origin of the growth of Taila's kingdom". The king, at the festival of his installation, after the overthrow of the Rāshtrakūṭas, gave away to him the village of Maningavallī in Tardavāḍī 1000 (Modern Managoli in the Bagevāḍī taluk, Bijapur District) (78). Another was Mallapa, son of a Jaina Brahmin called Nāgamayya, who was an inhabitant of Kammedeśa in Veṅgimaṇḍala. Mallapa is praised as a great warrior and a liberal patron of learning. He is also said to have caused, like Īśvaraghaṭisāsa, the growth of the imperial fortune of Aṇavamalla (śrī-Aṇavamalladeva-sāmrājya-lakṣmī-pravardhamana-hetu-bhūta). Ronnamayya and Gundamayya, to whom we have referred above, were respectively his brother and son. Two of Mallapa's daughters were given in marriage to Nāgaḍeva, son of Dhalla. One of them Attiyabbe, alias Dānachintāmanā, became celebrated for her piety and patronage of Ranna. Dhalla, as we have seen, was the mahāmantrākṣa-patādhīpati of the Chālukya king. Ranna calls him the mahāmantri of the Chālukya-Chatravarti. Nāgaḍeva's son Taila became in course of time a commander of the Chālukya king's army. (79).

(78) EI. V. 28f. (79). For all the above information see sources of Karnataka History, I. 134f; Karnāṭaka-Bhāṣā-bhūṣana (edited by Rice), Introduction, pp. XV, XVI.

Finally, we find that Ranna himself was an illustrious luminary of Taila's court. The emperor bestowed upon him the title of Kavi-chakravarti, and presented him with a (?) Madanāvatāra, a parasol, a chouri, an elephant, and a (?) bhattagāve (?) Brahmins' village) (80).

III. Satyāśraya.

Fleet thinks that the accession of Satyāśraya took place probably towards the end of 997 A.D. The earliest known epigraph of his time is dated 999 A.D. (81), and the latest 1008 A.D. (82). His name is sometimes given as Sattiga and Sattima. The usual birudas of the king were Irivabedāṅga and Akalaṅka-*charita*. A Lakkundi inscription dated 1007 A.D. refers to the reigning monarch as Ahavamalla. This suggests that Satyāśraya, like his father, also took ^{the} some title (83). Ranna applies to him a string of epithets like Irivabedāṅga, Chālukya-Nārāyaṇa, Chālukya-Kanthirava, Chālukya-mārttanda, Chālukya-Kandarpa, Sāhasa-Bhima, Kumarāṅka-Rāma, Akalaṅka-*charita*, Sāhasāṅka, etc., (84).

Satyāśraya, as we have seen, earned a good deal of distinction by his warlike activities while as yet a prince, and it was fortunate for the Chālukyan state to have a resolute fighter at the helm of its affairs after the death of Taila II. —————

(81) E.C.VIII.56.234. Rice ascribes EC IV.No.50, dated 997 A.D. to Satyasraya. But this is doubtful.

(82) Gadag Inscription of S 930 (Bk.179 of 1933) Kharepatan Plates of Rattarāja (EI. III. 297 f).

(83) Bk.I. 1.1.52.

(84) IA.XL.p.42; Gadāyadhya, 1st and 2nd Āśvāsa.

For now the full blast of Rājārāja's aggression in the north swept over it. The aim of the Chola king undoubtedly was to conquer all the territories that lay to the south of ^{the} Krishna and ^{the} Tungabhadra, and to secure a scientific frontier for his empire in the same direction. On the other hand, the Chālukyas seem to have been equally determined to retain and extend their hold over the Kasmirese and Telugu speaking districts of the same quarter. The initial phase of the conflict that thus broke out between the two races has been noticed under Taila II. His descendants continued the struggle with the Cholas for about a century and a half with varying results. At the end of that period both the combatants fell exhausted and being overwhelmed by serious internal difficulties speedily headed towards destruction and ruin.

It appears that Satyāśraya had to deal with at least two Chola invasions, and in the first of these he suffered a serious discomfiture at the hands of the Chola King. The inscriptions of Rājārāja, from about 1003 A.D. state that he captured by force Rattapadi, "the seven and a half-lakh country" (85).

(85) MEN. 333, 61, 1927; H.K. Sastri, Cola I. 210.

Specific references to his victory over Satyāśraya are found in the Larger Leiden Plates of the year 21 (1005 A.D.), Tanjore inscription No.1., and Tiruvalangadā Plates (86).

Verse 81 of the last mentioned record leaves the impression that the Chālukya king was caught almost unaware, and without putting up any strong defence fled away from the battle-field; and verse 84 says that Rājārāja exacted tribute from the vanquished. The second invasion was led by Rājārāja's son the Crown Prince Rājendra I. From the introduction of his records, dated in the third year of his reign (1014 A.D.), we learn that he conquered Iditurai-nādu (identified with Ededore 2000, which comprised a large part of the Raichur district), Banavāse, Kollippākkai (Kulpak about 40 miles north-west of the city of Hyderabad) and Mannaikkadakkam (identified with Manyakheta) which had unapproachable fortifications (87). The Charla Plates and Kanyākumārī inscription of Vira-Rājendra state that Rājendra I made Manyakheta the play-ground of his army (88). That this expedition was led against Satyāśraya is made clear by another record of the third year of Rājendra I, which informs us that a certain Rājamalla Muttaraiyan, who was placed in charge of the elephant troops, was killed before Mannaikkadakkam while piercing the elephant of the Chālukya king, under the orders of the Chola monarch. (89)

(86) E.I. XII.1.226ff line 65; SII.11.No.1.; III,111.p.421

(87) Sastri, op.cit. 236. (88) E.I. XV.11.21 ff; XXV 261-Verse 70.

We are inclined to believe that it is this new Ghola invasion which finds such graphic description in the Hottur epigraph of Satyāśraya, dated 1007 A.D. (90). The record states that Rājendra-Vidyādhara, son of Rājarāja Wityavinoda, coming with a vast host of 900,000 men penetrated as far as Dōnavuṃṃa (modern Donur in the Bagewadi taluk of the Bijapur district) ravaged the whole country, perpetrated murders of women, children and Brahmins, and seizing women destroyed their castes. But Satyāśraya drove away the invaders, captured their bags and baggage, and is said to have even made a triumphal progress through the south (91). Rājendra's campaign apparently produced immense suffering for the subjects of the Chālukya king, but did not perhaps yield any substantial gain to the Cholas.

(89) SII. III.N. Introduction, p.17. MMR 515 of 1912; Sastri gives the name of the individual as *Smutiman* Nakkān Chandren (Colas I. 237)

(90) EI. XVI. 74 ff.

(91) N.K. Sastri believes that the Hottur inscription refers to the incidents that followed immediately after Rājarāja's invasion of about 1003 A.D. He also points out that Rājendra's campaign may have been undertaken in the course of the same war which his father waged with Satyāśraya (Colas I. pp. 210, 238).

On the other hand, the discovery of an inscription of Satyāśraya at Chebrolu in the Guntur district, dated S.928 (c.1006 A.D.) (92) suggests that the Chālukya king established, at least temporarily, his authority over a part of the Andhra territory, which probably formed a sphere of influence of the Cholas about this time (93). It is not also altogether impossible that Rājendra's campaign was undertaken as a retaliation for Satyāśraya's aggression into the aforesaid region.

A Lakkundi inscription, dated 1007-9 A.D, credits Satyāśraya with a victory over the Gurjaras (94). If true, this possibly took place after the war with Rājendra I. We have already referred to the statement found in the Navasāhasāṅkacharita that the Paramāra King Sindhurāja recovered the territory that was presumably overrun by Taila II after the death of Mañja. Mirashi thinks that the event happened during the reign of Satyāśraya, when he was preoccupied with the Chola invasion. (95).

(92) SII. VI. No.102.

(93) N.K.Sastri, op cit. 214 ff.

(94) Ek.I. 1.1. No.52, line 52-53.

(95) IA.1933,102.

~~The~~ Sindhurāja king is also said to have conquered Lāṭa and Aparānta (96). This implies renewed interference by the Paramāras in the affairs of the Deccan, the full implication of which became only manifest during the reign of Sindhurāja's son Bhoja.

Two smaller incidents of this reign also deserve our attention. A hero-stone inscription from Yali-Sirur, Dharwar district, commemorates the death of a certain Kēṭa, a leṅka, who fell in a battle at the front of Unukallu (Unkal in Dharwar), where he fought at the command of Sattiga, probably the king himself (97). A second inscription from the same district refers to a siege of the agrahāra of Kaldugu in Belvola 300 by Deśinga, and the destruction of the forces of the king through the treachery of his pergade (98). These events, though of minor importance, suggest that Satyāśraya had to fight against internal disorders as well.

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- (96) Navasāhasāṅkacharita, X.15; IA, 1933. 101, ff.
 (97) Bk. I. L.1. No. 51.
 (98) Bk. 179 of 1933.

The king gave his daughter in marriage with Iriva-Nolambādhirāja (99). The princess seems to have been identical with Mahādevī, daughter of Sattiga, mentioned in the Marol inscription of the time of Jayasimha II, dated 1024 A.D., as administering Maravolal (Marol) (100).

(99) EI. XVI. 27f.

(100) Bk. I. 1. 1. 61.

IV. Vikramāditya V.

Satyāśraya had no male heir (103). His younger brother Daśavarman (also called Yaśovarman) seems to have pre-deceased him. The latter, by his wife Bhāggavatī, or Bhāgaladevī, had at least three sons and one daughter. After the death of Satyāśraya the throne passed to the eldest among the princes, Vikramāditya. His name also appears as Vikramāṅka and Vikrama, and he had the biruda Tribhuvanamalla. His earliest known date is 1009 A.D. (104) and the latest 1014 A.D. (105). The Kauthem Plates of the King tell us that he stood out for the maintenance of the castes and stages of life. No other substantial achievement, referable to him, is found, in the records of his own reign. —

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- (103) We have several records which mention Kundarāja or Kundama, son of Irvabedāṅga, as a provincial governor. He has been taken by some scholars to be a son of Satyāśraya, who had the epithet Irvabedāṅga. But this does not seem to be correct. See Kadambakūla, p. 429 line 2. Karnatak Historical Review, II. 37 ff.
- (104) Kauthem Plates - IA.Xvi.15 ff.
- (105) Sk.52 of 1929. 899.IX.1.79.

In the Daulatabad Plates of Jayasimha II (1017 A.D.)

we get the vague statement that "beyond the sight of his uncle (jyeshth^āpituh parākshah) he^(Vikrama), with his arm which dispersed the assemblage of his foes, lifted upon high the earth, encircled by the ocean, as if it were the thread of a bracelet" (106). A Gadag inscription, also belonging to the time of Jayasimha contains the interesting information that Kesa[va] who fought for Taila II in the Konkan and on the bank of the Godavari, pleased Vikramāditya by subjugating the Kosala country. Kesa[va]'s son Bhāyiga also made other conquests for the king (107). It is a pity that the only record which indicates that success^{ful} of Satyāśraya had actually some military achievement to his credit, has come down to us in a fragmentary and mutilated condition. ~~Kosal~~ Kosala, which is said to have been conquered by the officer of Vikramāditya must have been identical with Dakshina-Kosala, ruled at this time by the Somavamsi kings. It may be noted that Mahāsiva Gupta II Yayāti of this line, who is assigned by some scholars to the period c.1010-50 A.D. (108) is credited with victory over the lords of Karnāṭa.

(106) Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No. 2. p. 7.

(107) Ek. I. 1.1. No. 76.

(108) DMNI. IX. 405.

Lāta, Gurjara(?) and Dravida (109). If the suggested dates for this king are to be accepted, then we have here a confirmation of the fact that the Karmāta and the Kosala kings stood in hostile relations with each other.

The Valipattana Plates of the Śilāhara prince Rattarāja, dated 1010 A.D., makes no mention of any sovereign authority, though he still called himself a mandalika (110). Chakradar argues from this that taking advantage of the Chālukya-Chola contest in the last reign, he probably declared his independence (111). The indifferent attitude of Rattarāja towards the Chālukyan sovereignty may have been encouraged by the in Lāta and Apṣarānta Paramāra interference/to which the Navasāhasāṅka-charita bears witness.

(109) DMS. IX. 402.

(110) IHQ IV. 203f.

(111) *ibid.*

There is some doubt as to who was the immediate successor of Vikramāditya V. Several records of the time of Someśvara I and some of his successors mention Ayyana as the next king (112). But he is completely passed over in the known inscriptions and grants of Jayasimha II, which mention the latter as coming immediately after Vikramāditya V. We have an inscription from Rugi (Bijapur District) which refers itself to the time of Ayyana's brother (name not specified) and registers some gifts made by mahāsāmanta Dēvanarasa, a servant of Vasudhaikamalla. It is dated S.936, Ānanda, corresponding to 1015 A.D. (113). The mention of Ayyana's name in this record, and the non-mention of his brother's name (unless Vasudhaikamada is taken to be a variant of Jagadekamalla, which is known to have been a biruda of Jayasimha II) seem to suggest that the former was the reigning king at this time. In this case Vasudhaikamalla may be taken even as a biruda of Ayyana. The Jaina author Vādirāja informs us that Jayasimha II obtained his kingdom in battle (114). This certainly implies that the latter's succession to the throne was not peaceful, and it may be that he forcibly seized the throne by removing his own brother. This perhaps explains why Ayyana's name is not mentioned in the records of Jayasimha II.

(112) Nimbargi Ins. of S.969 (Elliot I.59f) Nagai Ins. of S.980 (Hy. Arch. S. No. 8. p. 9); SII.V. No. 88. VII. No. 724. Ec. VII. Sk. 123.

(113) Sk. 59 of 1938. (114) ranamukhe Jayasimha rājya-lakṣmī bhāhāra (Sources of Karnataka History, I. p.157).

CHAPTER VIII

Jayasimha II and Somesvara I.

Jayasimha II very probably ascended the throne in about 1015 A.D. (1), and his last known date is 1042 A.D. (2). He is sometimes referred to simply as Simha. (3) His usual *Giruda* was Jagadekamalla. But besides this he is also referred to as Mallikāmoda, Kīrtividyādhara and Kodanda-Rāma. (4) An inscription from Tammadhaddi (Bijapur district) styles him as Trailokyamalla śrīmatu Vikramasimha Jayasimhadeva. (5)

Jayasimha's early achievements are thus described in the Balagamve inscription of 1019 A.D. He was like a terrible conflagration at the end of time to the Cholas (*Cholograkālānala*) and despised the wrath of the Chola king. He was "the moon to the lotus which was king Bhoja", and "the lion to the elephant which was Rājendra-Chōla". "He searched out the seven Malavas (*Mālavam-ēlumam*), pursued them, assailed them, and put them to flight. He again and again drowned the Chola and Chera in the ocean". (6)

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- (1) BK.I.92 of 1936. This is the earliest known date of the king.
 (2) BK.I. I. I. No. 75. (3) Hy. Arch. Se. No. 8, pp. 11, 19; BK.I. I. I. Nos. 57, 76. (4) *Sources of Karnataka History*, I. I. 114-2; 115 p. IX.
 (5) BK.I. I. I. No. 68; Intro. p. IX. On the *Giruda* Mallikāmoda, see Dr. Barnett's remark in EI. XII. 144.
 (6) IA.V. 15ff. The king's victories over the Cholas and the Malavas are also referred to in the Madanatilaka of Chandrapaja, one of his subordinates (sources of Karnataka History, I. 142).

The king's victory over the Cholas is also mentioned in an inscription of the time of Vikramāditya VI which tells us that he displayed great prowess by frightening a big army of Madhurāntaka-Chola (RājendraI), which came upon him with great force, and cutting it to pieces on the bank of Kirudore (i.e., the Tūṅgabhadrā) compelled him to flee towards Kāñchī. (7) The Chola records on the other hand claim a smashing victory for Rājendra over the Chālukya forces. The Melpadi inscription of the king, dated in his ninth year (1020-21 A.D.), tells us that he captured "the seven and a half lakh of Rattapādi (which was) strong by nature, and vast quantities of treasure, together with the inestimable reputation of Jayasimha, who, out of fear and full of vengeance (or to his great disrepute) turned his back at Muśaṅgi and hid himself". (8) The Sanskrit portion of the Tiruvalangadu plates tells us that the Chola king started to conquer Jayasimha, seeing him to be the very seat of Kali. In a highly contested battle he defeated the lord of the Rattarāshtra, who fled away leaving his family, riches and reputation. The Chālukya army is said to have been totally destroyed. (9) It is difficult to reconcile the two

(7) MAS.1931, p.131.

(8) SII.III.i.No.18; N.K.Sastri, op.at. 245f. N.K.Sastri, is inclined to identify Muśaṅgi with Uchchangi in the Bellary district (p.246).

(9) SII.III.iii.No.205, verses 99-108.

contradictory accounts that have come down to us.

The only fact that is certain is that Rājendra I led an expedition into the Chālukya territory, and apparently failed to secure any substantial advantage.

On the Chālukya side we have several other references, to either Jayasīṃha's or his subordinate's victories over the Cholas. A Gadag inscription of unknown date informs us that Mādhavevarāja, son of the same Keśa [va] who fought for Taila II and Vikramāditya, won the admiration of Singa-nripati (Jayasīṃha) by leading the cavalry forces against the Cholas. (10) An inscription from Shikarpur taluk, dated 1017 A.D., describes Kunderāja, governor of the Banavāsi province, as a Tivula-māri (plague or pestilence to the Tivulas or Tamils), (11) showing thereby that he probably took part in the battle of Muśangi. The Miraj plates of 1024 A.D. record that the grant mentioned in it was made by the king after he had overcome the valiant Chola. Another record, also of the year 1024 A.D., credits the king's officers Brahma-danda-dhipa and his brother Malla-danda-dhisa with victory over the same enemy. The latter is also said to have defeated in addition the Chaṅgalvas (12), Koṅgalvas and Hoysalas, who occupied the south-eastern and the eastern parts of the

(10) B.K.I. I. I. No. 76

(11) E.C. VII. sk. 285.

(12) In Elliot's transcription the name appears as Bangalvas. I am indebted to Dr. Barnett for the suggestion that the correct reading should be Chaṅgalvas.

Mysore state. (13) There are evidences to show that the former two tribes owed their allegiance to the Cholas at this time, (14) and any move against them may have been prompted by a desire to embarrass their master. The Kulenuv inscription of 1028 A.D. says that Kunda-rāja routed the elephant squadrons of the Chola, Gāṅgeya (the Chedi king) and Bhoja (the Paramāra king). (15) Some scholars think that the three rulers entered into a hostile alliance against Jayasimha, and made a simultaneous attack upon him. (16) But such a view should be regarded with great caution in the absence of more specific details in support of it. Finally, an inscription from the Shikarpur taluk, dated 1031 A.D. states that Kunda-rāja's son Satyāśraya churned the Tivulay forces. (17) These various references should not be taken to allude to one and the same event. They rather point to the fact that the forces of the Chālukyas and the Cholas were pitched against one another on more than one occasion during Jayasimha's reign. But the exact chronology or correlation with one another cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge.

(13) Elliot, I. 27f. 2 Inscription from Hangal, dated, s 946.

(14) Rice, Mysore and Coorg from inscriptions, pp. 141-45.

(15) EI. XV. 331f. The Hallihal inscription describes Kunda-rāja as "the protector of the firm lakshmi of the kingdoms of the Cholas (?) and Chālukyas, the thunderbolt to the race of the Kosalas, the destroyer of Lomjika, adamant to Gurjara, the destructive thunderbolt to the Cholas, and the annihilator of the kingdom of Malaya". (Moraes, Kadamha-kula, pp. 428, 432).

(16) HPD. 91; EI. XXIV. 104.

(17) EG. VII. sk. 30.

Jayasimha's hostility towards Bhoja was undoubtedly due to the threat presented by the extension of Paramāra influence in Lāṭa and the Koṅkan. Some advance in this direction was possibly made as we have seen, by Sindhurāja. It now reached its culmination sometime towards the close of the second decade of the eleventh century under his son and successor. The Kalavan Plates and the Udaipur prasasti, which profess to describe the conquests of Bhoja, assign to him in a general manner victories over the kings of Kārṇāṭa, Lāṭa and Koṅkana. (18) Two of his records, namely, the Banswara and the Betwa grants, both dated in 1020 A.D. specifically refer to ^{gifts} ~~gifts~~ made by him on the occasion of the anniversary of the victorious occupation of Koṅkana (Koṅkana-grahana-vijaya-parvani) and Koṅkana-vijaya-parvani) (19). The history of Koṅkana about this time is extremely phscure. But we do not find any reason to doubt the correctness of Bhoja's inscriptions. (20) The Paramāra

(18) EI. XIX. 71-72; I. 235.

(19) EI. XI. 182f, XVIII. 320f.

(20) The evidence of the Kalvan inscription (EI. XIX. 69ff) has been adduced to prove that Bhoja's feudatory Yaśovarman was governing the "Svetapāda" province which comprised parts of the Nasik district. But the correct reading is "Sveta-pāṭa" signifying the Svetāmbara Jains. (Bhandarkar, List, p. 291 n).

(21) EI.XII.303ff.
 (22) EI.XVI.357, 359.
 (23) Моравия xix-xii вв. k k r a d x k o x k d e n k k f y x c h a r k t o g s k o k l i x k m i d a v a g j i x

(23) ~~Морозов х и з х и р а к и н с к х к а х к а с н х х у х О н а к к о р а х х к к х х К и н д а с х х х~~

this occasion. (23)

We may now turn to consider Jayasimha's relations with another of his northern neighbours, namely, the Haihayas or Chedis of Tripurī. Taila II's mother belonged to the royal house of the Chedis. Relying upon a doubtful reading of a corrupt verse occurring in the Yewur plates, Fleet thought that Taila made wars on his maternal uncle's family. (24) But since then a correct text of the record has been made available to the scholarly world, and the passage in question has been commented upon by Mirashi, who shows that it actually

(23) Moraes is inclined to identify Chattuga with Kundarāja (Kadamba-kula, pl.98). In the Prabandhachintāmani and Bhoja-charita appears a story which tells us that Bhoja was prompted to lead the expedition to the south to avenge the death of Muñja at the hands of Taila II. He saw a dramatic representation of the fateful event, and being stung on the occasion by sarcasm of an emissary of the Chālukya king Bhīma I, proceeded at once towards "the country of Telīngana", and subjecting Taila to severe indignities, and finally executed him. (HPD.89ff). Taila died before Bhoja's accession, but accepting that there may be some truth underlying this tradition, R.G.Bhandarkar suggested that the Chālukya prince who thus suffered death at the hands of Bhoja should perhaps be identified with Vikramāditya I(V) (EHD.3rd.ed.141f). Others prefer to identify him with Jayasimha II (HPD.90). There is, however, nothing to show that either of the two Chālukya kings met with a violent death.

(24) DKD.431.

alludes to Utpala or Muṇja's victories over the Chedis, Utkalas and others. (25) But the friendship between the Chālukyas and the Chedis apparently did not last long. An inscription from Gargi seems to refer to Kokkalla's II's victory over the rulers of Kuntala and Vanavāsa. (26) The date of this king is not known, and his Chālukya contemporary may have ^{been} ~~been~~ any one of the three rulers - Satyāśraya, Vikramāditya V and Jayasimha. His son and successor Gāṅgeya also receives credit for defeating the king of Kuntala. The Rewah inscription of Karna says that his father (Gāṅgeya) "was fond of defeating the (king of Kuntala) in a clever manner". (27) The Khairha Plates has the following verses in reference to Gāṅgeya: (28)

śirasi kulisa(śa)pāto vairinām vīra-lakṣmī-patir=
abhavadapatyam yasya Gāṅgeya devah || sa vīraśimhāsana-
mauli-ratnam sa Vikramāditya iti prasiddhah | yasmād
akasmād ^{apagānam} ~~apara~~(?para)mānam-icchhan-nakuntalah
kunta-latām-va(ba)bhāra ||.

The last verse has been differently translated by different authors. Hiralal renders it as follows:
"The best jewel of crowned heads, he (Gāṅgeya) became famous under the name Vikramaditya, wishing to run away from whom with dishevelled hair (the king of Kuntala), who was deprived of his country, came to possess it again"(29)

(25) IHQ. IX. 132 (26) EI. XXII. 132. R. D. Banerji ascribes this achievement to Kokkalla's son Gāṅgeya. But see ibid. pl 29n (27), (28), & (29) contd.

Krishna Sastri says that the verse means, "He the crest jewel of the (kings of the) heroic throne, he who was renowned as Vikramāditya (identified with Chālukya Vikramāditya V), being deprived of Kuntala and wishing to run away from him (i.e. Gāngeya), suddenly took up the Kunta creeper (in hand as a sign of submission)". (30) Mirashi accepts the first part of the translation as given by Hirallal, but the last part is rendered by him as "wishing to run away from whom the Kuntala ceased to be the Kuntala." (31) If Krishna Sastri's translation is to be accepted, then Gāngeya must have defeated Vikramāditya V. But one naturally feels that the word "sa" in the verse should be construed with Gāngeyadeva of the preceding verse. On the other hand the last part of Hirallal's rendering is far from happy. The general sense however is pretty clear, that is, the defeat of the king of Kuntala at the hands of Gāngeya. Now to the question, who was the Kuntala king who

(27) EI.XXIV.104; IA.XI.143.v.17.

(28) EI.XII.205ff, v.11; ib.II.p.3f.v.11.

(29) EI.XII.215.

(30) EI.XII.p.viii.

(31) EI.XXIV.104n.

thus sustained discomfiture at the hands of the Chādi monarch, **no** definite answer can be given. On the Chālukya side reference to an encounter with Gāṅgeya is met with only in the Kuḥenur epigraph of 1028 A.D., which speaks of Kundaṛāja as the breaker of the elephant forces of the Chedi king. (32) Taking into consideration the date of this record we tentatively assign the feat of Gāṅgeya to the reign of Jayasīṃha.

The Balambida inscription of the time of Somesvara I mentions that Jayasīṃha destroyed the kings of the Cholas, Konkana, Gurjara, Mālava, Kerala, Pañchāla, Gauda, Kalinga and Vaṅga. (33) This is undoubtedly an exaggerated account of the military achievements of the Chālukya king. Another inscription, dated 1164 A.D. says that Jagadekamalla (Jayasīṃha) obtained herds of elephants, wealth, troops and horses by churning the hostile armies of the Cholas and Gurjaras. (34) But no details of any Chālukya-Gurjara contest is known from other sources. We have pointed out in a previous context that one of the king's officer, Malladaṇḍadhīśa, claims to have defeated the Hoysalas as early as 1024 A.D. (35) Vāvanarasa the governor of Belvola and Puligere, is described in a Hottur inscription, dated 1037 A.D., as "a scatterer of

(32) EI. XV. 331f.

(34) EC. VII. 108.

(33) MAS. 1928. 72f.

(35) see ante, p. 207

Doradēsa, which, Dr. Barnett suggests, may stand for Dorasamudra. (36) Here we have perhaps references to some early attempts to bring the Hoysalas under the Chālukya suzerainty, which seems to have bore fruit in the next reign.

Amidst all these wars and invasions Jayasīṃha was confronted with a serious internal crisis created by the rising of a number of sāmantas and mandalesvaras. It almost cost him his throne, but the prompt action taken by Kālidasa-dandādhipa, who is described as the founder of the prosperity of the Chalukya king's rule (Utpādita-Chālukya-rāja-rājy-abhyudayam) retrieved the situation. (37) The date of this important event is not known. Neither do we know the cause of this rebellion. In this connection we may also note the following facts. Vāvaṇarasa, whom we have already met, is described as an uprooter of Pannāla (Panhala in the Kolhapur State), which was under the Silāhāras of Kārhad; a grindstone to Balevaṭṭana (i.e. Baliapattam in the Malabar district), which was under the Goa branch of the Kadambas; and the shatterer of the pride of the fortress of Bijavāḍi (probably Bijwadgi in the Hundgund taluk, Bijapur district). (38) Another officer of the king Bijjarasa of the Chālukya family, is said to have been the final day of destruction to Pattarali, scatterer of Bhillama (probably Yādava Bhillama

(36) EI. XVI. 75ff.

(37) The Nagā inscription, dated 1058 A.D. (Hy. Arch. Se. No. 8. pp. 11, 19)

(38) The inscription has been edited and places identified by Dr. Barnett in EI. XVI 75ff.

III), grindstone to Paṭuhakōṭa, breaker of the pride of Baṇṭuga, lion to the rutting elephant Chaṭṭuga (probably the Kadamba prince of the same name, who got the title of Katakada-gōvan from Jayasinha), and plague to Torahara. It is further stated that he captured Toragale (Torgal in the Kolhapur state) in a moment, attacked and seized Bhaṭṭa, and plucked up the Beydars by the root. His brother Gonarasa, governor of the Sāntaligenād, and described as the armour of the south, slew Arasaṅka and Gondapa, and drove away the Maleyavars of the seven Male. (39) These exploits of Vāvanarasa and Bijjarasa were performed specially to put down local rulers, including the Kadambas of Goa and Banavasi, the Śilāhāras of Karṇād and perhaps the Yādava Bhīllana III, who had accepted the suzerainty of the Chālukyas. It seems to us that these were the Sāmantas and maṇḍalīkas who wanted to bring about a political revolution and deprive Jayasinha of his throne, but were thwarted by the loyal services of several other officers of the state.

We have seen that Taila II ruled from Mānyakheta. But one of his immediate successors transferred the seat of government to Kalyāṇi. N.K. Sastri suggests that this was probably done after the sack of Mānyakheta by

Rājendra-Chola during the reign of Satyāśraya, The earliest epigraphic mention of the city as the capital of the Chālukyas is found in two inscriptions of Jayasimha, both dated 1033 A.D. (40)

Jayasimha had at least three queens, Suggaladevī, Lakshmidēvī and Devaladevī. (41) The name of only one of his sons, Someśvara (I) who succeeded him, has come down to us. His daughter Hamma or Avalladevī was given in marriage to the Yādava chief Bhīllama III. Chandrarāja in his ^{Madang} ~~Madang~~atilaka, says that Jayasimha was a worshipper of Devadeva i.e. Śiva. (42) From Channabāsavapurana we get the information that the king was converted from Jainism to the Śaiva faith by his queen Suggaladevī. (43)

Jayasimha's successor Someśvara I had the titles Trilokyamalla and Ahavamalla. He is also referred to as Chālukya-Nārāyaṇa, Chālukya-Kaṇṭhirāva and Vīra-Mārttaṇḍa. (44) The accession of the new king took place shortly before January 1043 A.D. (45) He died on the 29th of March 1068. (46)

The twenty-five years of Someśvara's reign were spent in almost ceaseless warfare with his neighbours on all the frontiers of his dominions. But the chief interest of the reign centres round the long duel which the king

(40) BKI. I. I. No. 69; BK. 128 of 1934. The Elliot collection, (I. p. 286) contains an inscription of the time of Jayasimha from Kalyāṇi bearing the date 5947.

(41) The last two are mentioned in BK. 122 of 1933 & SII. IX. I. nos. 91-92. (42), (43), (44), (45) & (46) contd.

fought with his Chola contemporaries. It began soon after he came to the throne, with an expedition led into the Chālukya territory by Rājādhirāja, son of Rājendra-Chola I. The relevant incidents are found narrated in the records of the twenty-sixth or earlier years of Rājādhirāja, and are to be dated before 1044 A.D.

(47) It appears that the invader aimed at a plundering raid upon the Chālukya capital itself, which, as we have seen, was now located at Kalyani. A close study of the available facts suggests that Rājādhirāja had to fight several engagements with the defending forces before his objective was realised. We learn from one set of inscriptions that he defeated the Chālukya army under Gandapayya and Gaṅgādhara, both of whom fell in the battle and forced to retreat Vikki and Vijyāditya (identified with prince Vikramāditya and Vishnuvardhana-Vijayāditya) along with Sarigamayya. The invader then set fire to the city of Kollipakkai and seized a large amount of booty.

(42) Sources of Karnataka History, I. p. 142.

(43) DKD. 435. (44) EI. XV. 87; Hy. Arch. se. No. 8, pp. 10-11.

(45) EI. XVIII. 173. Note that Jayasimha was alive till October, 18, 1042 A.D. (BKD. I. I. No. 75).

(46) EC. VII. sk. 136. (47) N. K. Sastri, Colas, I. 276.

A second set of inscriptions tells us that the invader fought "a hot battle at Būndi", and inflicted a crushing defeat on Vichchaya, who fled away leaving his parents on the field. It is said that Ahavamalla then attempted to open negotiation, but the messengers were treated insultingly, and forced to carry inscribed on their persons, the account of the flight of their master. The Chola next pushed on still further for bathing his elephants at Siruturrai, Perundurai and Daivabhīmakāsi. On his way he replaced the boar ensign of the Chālukyas by the tiger emblem of the Cholas. Next he defeated another set of enemy leaders which included the Mūlumba, Kālidāsa, Chāmunda, Kommayya and Villavarāja. He beheaded the Gurjara king (?) and spared those who offered submission. Finally the city of Kalyāni was sacked and razed to the ground. Amidst its ruins Rājarāja went through a vīrābhisheka. The victor also carried away with him an image of a dvārapālaka. (48) The Chola account given above seems to be substantially correct, for the burning of Kalyāni in the reign of Somēśvara I by the Cholas is admitted in several late Chālukya inscriptions. (49)

(48) 172 of 1894; SII.V.465; Colas, pp.273-76.

(49) EC.VII.sb.325; MAS.1911.47; ELLIOT.I.352a. The account found in these inscriptions suggests that the destruction of Kalyāni followed the burning of Kāñchi by a Chālukya general. But the latter event possibly preceded the battle of Koppam. see below.

The Manimangalam inscription of Rājādhirāja, shows that before the close of 1046 A.D. he led his army into the northern region for a second time, and defeating the chiefs Gaṇḍar-Dinā²karaṇ, Nārāṇaṇ (Nārāyaṇa), Kaṇavādi or Gaṇavādi (Gaṇapati) and Madisūdanaṇ (Madhusūdana), burnt the palace of the Chālukya king at Kāmpili. (50)

N.K.Sastri assigns^{to} about this time several other skirmishes between the Cholas and the Chālukyas. (51) At Pūṇḍūr, on the left bank of the Kṛishnā river, several vassal chiefs of Someśvara were captured, and the city of Pūṇḍūr was destroyed. This was followed by the burning of a large palace at Maṇṇandippai. These repeated invasions produced great distress among the subject populations in the southern districts of the Chālukya kingdom. A Sudi inscription of 1050 A.D. specifically records the renewal of a corporate constitution, granted to eight settis and eighty householders, which broke down because of stress of the Chola war. (52)

In the meantime on the Chālukya side Someśvara appears to have directed his attention to extend his influence over Veṅgī and Kalinga, which apparently admitted Chola overlordship. As early as 1044-45 (Ś 966 Tārana)

{50} SII.iii.No.28, p.57.
{52} EI.XV.78f.

(51) Colas, I.304.

Sobhanarasa, the governor of Belvola and Puligere, is styled Varigipura-varjesvara. (53) The same epithet is applied to prince Somesvara (II) in inscriptions dated 1049 and 1054 A.D. (54) In another epigraph dated 1053 A.D. the king's subordinate Bhogarasa is said to have obtained successes in Kalinga and Vengi. (55) A record of 1054 attributes to the king victory over the Kalingas. (56) Finally at Draksharama has been found an inscription of the king bearing the date Ś 977 (1055 A.D. (57) These evidences clearly suggest that the Chālukya king had attained considerable success in the two Chola dependencies on the eastern coast of the Deccan. This is also borne out by the Kanyākumārī inscription and Charla Plates of Vīrarājendra, which specifically mention the fact that Vengi and Kalinga, which had been in the Chola family for long (vaṁśa-kram-ābhyāgatam), were neglected by his elder brothers (phratribhyam), obviously meaning both Rājādhirāja and Rājendra II, and had passed into the occupation of enemies. (58)

Rājādhirāja led yet another expedition into the Chālukya territory, which culminated into the celebrated battle of Koppam, in which the Chola king was killed. The

(53) Elliot. I. 54.

(55) EI. IV. 261f.

(57) SII. IV. 1010

XXV. 262. Verse 77.

(54) EI. XVI. 53f; BKT. I. I. 84, 90.

(56) EC. VII. sk. 118.

(58) EI. XVIII. 21ff. Verse 77;

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antecedent of this last mentioned event are found in an inscription of the time of Vikramāditya VI. "After forcing Mummuri of Konkana to bend his neck, Pulakesin without difficulty burnt Kāñchi. It being said that the Chola burnt Kalyāni (?), Ahavamalla, taking a single elephant, slew the valiant Chola." (59) The raid on Kāñchi by Somesvara is also attested by the Nagai inscription of 1058 A.D., the Kaligi inscription of year 27 of Vikramāditya, and Bilhana. (60) That it occurred before the battle of Koppam is rendered probable by the fact that the discomfiture of Mummuri is mentioned in an inscription of 1053-54 A.D. (61) Chālukya records, therefore, leave the impression that the last invasion was undertaken by Rājādhirāja as a retaliatory measure for the destruction of one of his capitals. There cannot also be any doubt that he was thoroughly exasperated by the aggressive activities of Somesvara on the coast of the eastern ocean. The Manimangalam inscription of Rājendra II however, reports that being desirous of war, the Chola king started and reached Irattamandala, and there began to carry on great depredations. Hearing this Somesvara came

(59) EC.VII.sb.325; MAS.1911, p.47; Elliot.I.352b. It should be noted that Kalyāni was burnt by Rājādhirāja at the beginning of Ahavamalla's reign, and on this occasion it was the Belvola-Puligere provinces which suffered the same fate.

(60) Hy. Arch. se.No.8, pp.10,18; Elliot.I.264; Vikramāṅkacharita, I.15.

(61) Elliot.I.72b.

in great anger, and took up his position in the stronghold of Koppam, which Fleet locates near Khidrapur on the bank of the Kṛishnā in the Belgaum district. A furious battle took place in which Rājādhirāja lost his life. Thereafter the entire rank of the Chola army was thrown into a state of confusion and disorder. But Rājādhirāja was accompanied by his younger brother Rājendra, who now came forward, and taking the lead, turned a sure defeat into a glorious victory. Jayasiṅganaṇ, the brother of the Chālukya king, "the warlike" Pulakesi (undoubtedly identical with the one who burnt Kāñchī), Dasapaṇmaṇ, Aśokaiyaṇ, Araiyaṇ, Mottaiyaṇ, Nanni-Nolambaṇ and many other princes lay dead on the field. Vanniya-Rēvaṇ, Tuttaṇ, Kundamayaṇ, and others fled away, and Ālavamālla himself "was forced to plunge into the Western ocean". A rich booty fell into the hands of the victor, which included the queens Sattiyavvai, Sāṅgappai, many noble horses and elephants, and the banner and other royal insignia of the Chālukya king. Rājendra celebrated his victory by crowning himself on the field of battle, and by erecting a pillar of victory at Kollāpura, which has been identified with modern Kolhapur. (62) The place was destroyed by Rājādhirāja on this occasion. (63)

(62) SII.iii.No.29.

(63) EI.XV.p.262.Verse 73.

The date of the battle of Koppam can be definitely placed in 1054 A.D. This is the latest known regnal year of Rājādhirāja, (64) and an inscription of the same year, recording the various conquests of Ahavamalla, says that in the middle of the battle the Chola king died. (65) We have several other references to this event in inscriptions of Somesvara's own times. (66) The Nagai inscription of 1058 A.D. says that the king, having killed the Chola monarch in anger, brought his freshly decapitated head; (67) Another inscription of the same year states that Somesvara slew with ease the Chola king, who was accompanied in the battle field by hundreds of elephants, and brave and powerful warriors. (68) A third inscription, dated 1062 A.D. describes Mahāmandalesvara Permalā Mād̐rasa, governor of Belvola and Puligere, as Rājādhirāja-Chola-gondam (slayer of Rājādhirāja Chola). (69) The Annigere inscription of 1071 A.D. relates some of the destructions wrought by Rājādhirāja on this occasion. We are told that the "wicked" Chola, abandoning religious observances, penetrated deep into the Belvola country, and burned the Jain temples built by the Gaṅga king. (either Būtaga or Mārasimha). But he eventually lost his head at the hands of Somesvara I. (70)

(64) Colas. I. p. 291.

(65) EC. VII. sk. 118.

(66) We note them here specially because a high authority has remarked that "the inscriptions of the reign of Somesvara tells us nothing of the battle of Koppam" (N.K. Sastri, Colas, I. p. 310. (67), (68), (69) & (70) contd.

Although the Cholas claimed the final victory at Koppam, the initiative in the Chālyukya-Chola contest probably passed for a time into the hands of the Chālukyas. We now find them making definite encroachments on the Chola territories lying within the borders of the Mysore state, and also carrying on offensive operations against the enemy. Several inscriptions ranging between 1055 and 1060 A.D. describe Vikramāditya, the second son of Somesvara, as the governor of Gaṅga-vāḍi, which was conquered by the Cholas in the days of Rājarāja I. (71) One of them states that he was ruling the province as a prince's field (Kumāra-vṛitti). Chālyukya occupation of the province is also implied by the fact that on the eve of the battle of Kūḍalaṅgamaṁ (c.1064 A.D.) Vīrarājendra claims to have driven away the Chālyukya mahāsāmantas, who fought under the banner of Vikkalan (i.e. Vikramāditya), from Gaṅgavāḍi into the Tungabhadra (72). In 1060 the ~~king~~ ^{Somesvara} made a victorious expedition to the south, and having

(67) Hy. Arch. se. No. 18. pp. 10, 18.

(68) MAS. 1928. 72f.

(69) BKI. I. I. 97. He also possibly finds mention in Bk. 189 of 1933 as Cholanagonda.

(70) DKD. 441; EI. XV. 347-48.

(71) BK. 69 of 1936; EI. XIII. 168f; SII. IX. i. 118. EC. VII. sk. 83, 152.

(72) SII. III. p. 37.

conquered the Cholas, halted on his return journey, at Puli in the Sindavādi province and made some grant. (73)

This event is possibly referred to in the Chola epigraphs of the ninth year of Rājendra II and third year of his son Rājamahendra (1061-62 A.D.) (74). We learn from these records that in order to remove the ignominy of the defeat at Koppam the Chālukya invaded the Chola territory with a large army which was led by Valādeva. A battle was fought on the bank of the Mudakkāru in which the leader of the enemy forces was killed, and Ahavamalla, Vikramāditya, Irungaiyan and others were forced to beat a retreat. On the Chola side Rājendra II, Rājamahendra and possibly Virarājendra took part in this battle. (75)

In 1064 Vishnuvardhana-Vijayāditya, son of the Chālukya king, and governor of the Nolambavādi led an expedition to the south. (76) The incident may have been connected with some of the major engagements that took place about this time. In the Karuvur inscription of Virarājendra it is stated that he drove away from the battle-field in Gangapādi into the Tūṅgabhadra the Mahāsāmantas who were fighting under Vikkalan. He attacked and destroyed a powerful army which the enemy had sent to Veṅgai-nādu, and cut off the head of its leader Chāmundarājan.

(73) EI. XV. 85ff. cf. also SII. 123.

(74) Colas, I. 317f.

(75) ibid. Chola inscriptions tell us that Rājendra II defeated Ahavamalla ~~twice~~ (EI. XXI. 221) This apparently refers to his feats at Koppam and the Mudakkāru. An inscription of the time of Vikramāditya, on the other hand styles Ahavamalla as Rājendrachola-gaja-mṛiga-rājam, lion to contd. (76) contd.

The victor also takes pride in recording that he severed the nose of Chāmundarājan's daughter Nāgalai, who was the queen of Irugaiyan. (77) The Chālykyas, however, fell upon the Cholas for a third time to avenge their former defeat. The rival forces met at Kūdal-sāngamam and victory favoured the side of the Cholas. Virarājendra claims that he defeated countless sāmāntas and put to flight Ahavamall^ḥ, his son Vikkalan and Śīnganan (Jayasinha), Maḍuvanan, who was in command, Annaḷan and others. Śīngan, the king of Kōsalai, was cut to pieces. Thereafter he seized Ahavamalla's wives, family treasures, royal insignia, and a herd of war²elephants and prancing horses (78). The Charla Plates of Virarājendra^{drā} says that on the very day of his coronation he proceeded to the north and routed the Chālukyas at Kūdal-sāngamam. This would place the event in about 1064 A.D. The Maṇiman-galam inscription, on the other hand, mentions that the victory was achieved by the Chola king before his accession to the throne. (79)

It is extremely difficult to measure the actual gain made by the Cholas as a result of their recent victories

(75) (contd) the elephant Rājendrachola (Elliot, I. 264).

(76) SII. IX. I. no. 127.

(77) N.K. Sastri, Cholas, I. 218.

(78) SII. III. p. 37. The site of the battle of Kūdal-sāngamam has not been satisfactorily identified as yet. N.K. Sastri thinks that it may have been fought at Kūḍali at the junction of the Tunga and the Bhadrā, or that of the Tūṅgabhadra and the Krishnā.

(79) EI. XXV. 247.

The Charla Plates record the grant of the village of Chēram in Puli-nēdu, which has been identified with Charla in the Pungamur taluk of the Chittoor district. The place was captured by Virarājendra in his last campaign. (80) This piece of information is highly interesting as showing the farthest limit of the Chālukya advance in this direction. We are not at all sure that the whole of the Gaṅgavādi province was recovered by the Chola king (80a) In Venḡi also he does not seem to have achieved any substantial success at this time.

In 1065 (?) Someśvara led another expedition to the south. (81) Next year (the fourth year of Virarājendra (82) the rival hosts met "on the bank of a river of whirling water". The Chola king claims that he defeated his enemies and cut off the heads of the Gaṅga, Nulumba, Kādava and Vaiduva (Vaidumba) kings, and those of Valliyannan, ^{Aśokayan, Sattiyannan, Pattiyannan, Vīmayan,} Vañjippayan, and Vaṅgaran. The victor then retired to Gaṅgaikondacholapuram. But in the meantime Someśvara felt the sting of defeat, and thinking that "it is better to die than live in such disgrace", sent a written invitation to the Chola king for another trial of strength on the same field of Kuḍal-Saṅgamam. The message

(80) EI. XXV. 265. (80a) From 1060 onwards we find Hoysala Vinayāditya, who seems to have been connected with Someśvara by matrimonial ties, described as the ruler of Gaṅgavādi. EC. V. Ar. 186; MAS. 1929, p. 73; Rice, Mysore & Coorg, p. 98.

(81) SII. 128. line 25. (82) Colas. I. 326n.

was handed over to the Gaṅga chief Kettan for delivery, and ran" those who do not come to Kudal through fear are no kings, but are disgraceful liars in war ". Virarājendra accepted the challenge, and encamped at Karandai or Kandai till one month after the appointed day. But Somesvara did not turn up, and we are told that he hid himself in the western ocean. Three Chālukya generals Devanātha, Setti and Kesi, were put to flight. A pillar of victory was erected on the bank of the Tungabhadra. (83)

The Chola king next proceeded to reconquer Veṅgi and thereby to redeem the vow made by his brothers and by himself. Before this he on his part sent a note to the Chālukya king announcing "Hear this, and if you have any power, come and protect". A battle was fought at Vijayavādai (modern Bezwada) in which the chiefs Jananāthan, Rajamayan and Mupparasan were defeated and put to flight.

The victorious army also raided Kalīṅga and Chakrakota. The last mentioned place seems to have been conquered by the Chālukyas at a certain time which can not be exactly specified. Bilhana attributes the conquest to Vikramāditya on the eve of Somesvara's death. (84) But as

(83) It has been suggested that Somesvara could not keep his engagement because of the sudden attack of an incurable malady to get relief from which he drowned himself in the Tungabhadra on the 29th March 1068. (Colas, I. 328).

(84) Vikramāṅkacharita. N. 30.

early as 1062 A.D. Mahāmandaleśvara Mādarasa, "the slayer of Rājādhirāja", is described as a forest fire to Chakrakotta. (85) We also learn from the Kazipet inscription of Kākatīya Beta II, dated 1090 A.D. that his father Prola I. drove the chieftain of Bhadrāṅgapura and conquered Chakrakūṭa, Konkana-mandala and Gonna, and obtained permanently the Anumakonda-vishaya from Trailokyamalla, i.e. Somesvara I. (85a)

The second engagement at Kudal-Saṅgamam, and the incidents that followed immediately after, are all found in the Manimangalam inscription of the fifth year of Virarājendra, and are to be dated before September, 1067. It is clear that by this time, when Somesvara's reign had almost come to a close, the Cholas had recovered much of their lost ground. But it is possible that the Chalukyas received some accession of territory towards Gangavādi at the expense of their southern rival. (86)

(85) BKI. I. I. 97.

(85a) C. I. T. D. p. 25ff.

(86) SII. III. No. 30. cf. also the Tirumukkudal inscription of year 6 (EI. XX. 220ff), and the Charla Plates of year 7 (EI. XXV. 241ff. Virarājendra claims to have seen the back of Ahavamalla five times". It has been suggested that the occasions were:—1. the campaign against Gaṅḡapādi, 2. the first invasion of Vengi, 3. the first battle of Kudal-saṅgamam, 4. the battle on the bank of "the river of whirling water", 5. second battle of Kudal-saṅgamam. The Tirumukkudal inscription (6th year) refers to another contest between the Cholas and the Chalukyas, But it is not certain that the rival was a western Chalukya (EI. XXV. 249).

The Chālukya king inherited from his father not only the latter's rivalry with the Cholas, but also his enmity against the rulers of Malava and Chedi. Bilhana tells us that he seized Dhārā and compelled Bhoja to flee. (87) The statement of the poet is also confirmed by epigraphic evidence. The Magai inscription of 1058 A.D. says that Somesvara raided and burnt Dhārā and Ujjayini, and in the latter city "bore the silver ball with pride, by the strength of his own arm". The record also contains the information that the general Madhava drove out the lord of Dhārā. (88) Three other officers who took part in Somesvara's campaigns in Malava were Nāgamayya, "described as a Gaṇḍa to the serpent Bhoja" (89), Guṇḍamaya, said to have been held in honour at Dhārā, and Jemarasa, represented as "a flame of doom to Bhoja". (90)

Bhoja died some time before 1055-56 A.D. in the midst of a war with the allied forces of the Chālukyas and Chedis, who seized the Paramāra kingdom. In the Vikramānka-charita occurs a statement that prince Vikramāditya gave protection to the king of Malava and helped him to regain his kingdom. (91) The latter has been identified with Jayasīmbha, son and successor of Bhoja.

(87) Vikramānka-charita, I. 91-96. (88) Hy. Arch. se. No. 8, pp. 10-11.
 (89) EI. 87. xv. 88. (90) MAS. 1928, p. 68f; EI. xvi. 82f; HPD. 93f.
 (91) EI. xvi. 86. The destruction of Dhārā by Bhoja is also referred to in several other inscriptions. cf. MAS. 1928, p. 72f; Elliot, I. 263f, 350f.

D.C. Ganguly is further inclined to identify him with the Jananātha who fought on the Chālukya side and suffered defeat at the hands of Virarajendra at the battle of Bṛzwada. (92) But this is not beyond doubt. (93)

Regarding Somesvara's conflict with the contemporary Chedi king ^{Karna} no detail has come down to us. The Rewa inscription of 1049 A.D. says that the latter overran the district of Kāñchi and shook the fortunes of Kuntala. (94) Mirashi draws attention to an apabhraṃśa verse which refers to Karna's victory over Vikramāditya, (95) undoubtedly when the latter was acting as his father's general. Karna apparently carried on the hereditary feud with the Chālukyas that started in the reign of his grandfather. On the other hand, Bilhana says that Somesvara "utterly destroyed the power of Karna". But this seems to be only a poetic exaggeration.

Some contemporary inscriptions attribute to Somesvara the conquest of Lāṭa, Konkana and the Seven Males. (96) The claim may be accepted as genuine. It seems that Somesvara finally destroyed the Paramāṇa influence in the former two territories. The subjugation of Konkana seems to

(92) HPD. 123f. (93) EI. XXI. 226n, 242n; XXII. 56n.
 (94) EI. XXIV. 106. (95) ibid.
 (96) Elliot. I. 59; SII^A. I. 118; MAS. 1928, p. 72f; EC. VII. SK. 118.

have been a protracted affair, and several officers of ~~A~~ate took part in it. As early as 1047 A.D. the king's subordinate Chamundrāja is said to have made sport of Konkana (97). In an inscription of 1054 A.D. another feudatory, Revarasa, is represented as the submarine fire to Mummuri of Konkana (98). The same description is again applied to an official named Gundamayya (99). An inscription of the time of Vikramāditya informs us that Pulakesi (who burnt Kañchi) marched on Thānā, and forcing Mummuri to bend his neck, put in his place an agent of his. (100) And finally the Balambida inscription of 1060 A.D. states that Somesvara put down the haughtiness of the Konkanas, having deprived them of their soptless royal insignia, and established his name for truth. (101) Mummuri is of course identical with the northern Silāhāra prince of ^{Mummuri} the same name for whom we have the dates 1049 and 1060 A.D. (102)

We have several other inscriptions which purport to give long lists of Somesvara's victories over the peoples of well known Janapadas in Dakshināpathe as well as in Uttarāpatha. Thus an inscription, dated 1057, states that he was a lion to the Chola, submarine fire to Magadha, sun

(97) EC.VII.SK.151.

(99) MAS.1928, p.68f.

(101) MAS.1928, p.72f.

(98) Elliot.I.726

(100) EC.VIII.SK.325.

(102) EI.XXV.53f; DKD.543.

to the darkness Gaula, wind to the cloud Lāla, Indra to the mountains Aṅga, Vaṅga, Vaṅgala, Varāla, Mālava. The same record also describes the victories of the king's son Vikramāditya over the Cholas, Gaulas, the lord of the Barbaras, Andhras, lord of Maru, Mālava and Gurjara (103). The Sudi inscription of 1060 A.D. reports that Someśvara shattered the pride of the Chola monarch, he was a submarine fire to the Mālavyas, a wind to the Clouds the Aṅgas, Vaṅgas, Khasas, Veṅgī, Pāṇḍya, Saurāshtras, Keralas, Nepālas, Turushkas, Cheras and Magadhas, (104) A third inscription of the time of Someśvara II, says that his father got tributed from Lāṭa, Kalinga, Gaṅga, Karahāṭa, Turushkā, Varāla, Chola, Karnāṭa, Surāshtra, Mālava, Dasārṇa, Kosala, Kerala and other countries. He killed the (kings of) Magadha, Andhra, Avanti, Vaṅga, Drāvila, Kuru, Khasa, Abhīra, Pañchāla, Lāla and others, and plundering them, and taking tribute from them, reduced them to a state of servitude. (105) Another record of the ninth year of Vikramāditya reports that Someśvara subjugated the kings of Kīra, Kalinga, Vaṅga, Magadha, Arbuda, Gurjara, Pāriyātra, Nepāla, Turushkā, Gauda, Khasa, Koṅkana, Kerala, Chera, Chola, Sindhu, Pārāsa, Varāla, Saurāshtra, Lāla, Barbara

(103) SII. IX. I. 118.

(104) EI. XV. 87.

(105) EC. VII. SK. 136.

and Abhira as well as a king named Kāntarāja. (106)

These are some of the typical examples. There are other lists, not so long, but of the same character, which need not be detailed here. (107)

There cannot be any ^odubt that these inscriptions grossly exaggerate the achievements of Somesvara, and, as Dr. Barnett observes, the "details seem to be more epic than historical". (108) Attention, however, has been drawn to the fact that in Bengal and Nepal we find about this time, or a little later, the rise of rulers who claim Karnāṭaka connection, and it has been conjectured that they may have been military adventurers who accompanied prince Vikramāditya, who is said by Bilhana to have led his arms against Gauda and Kāmarūpa. (109) But in view of the life-long feud with the Cholas, the possibility of Somesvara's having sent his son on a dig-vijaya in northern India seems to us to be very remote. In the Deccan, on the other hand, the Chālukya king almost certainly held a predominant position. On the north, the Yādavas of Sannadeśa must have admitted his suzerainty. The death of Singa, "(the king of) warlike Kōśala", while fighting on behalf of Somesvara I against the Cholas (110) shows that the Chālukya influence had penetrated into the upper

(106) EI. XV. 104.

(107) see Elliot. I. 59ff; 294; EC. VII. SK. 118; XI. dg. 1; BKI. I. I. No. 103.

(108) EI. XV. 104.

(109) DHNI. I. 203.

(110) see above.

valley of the Mahānadī. Further north Jayasīṃha I of Malwa was probably a subordinate ally of the Chālukyas. On the west the Śilāhāras of Konkana were brought under subjection. The Goa Kadamba chief Jayakesin I, is again, expressly described as his feudatory. (110a) On the south the pre-nomen of Mahāmaṇḍalesvara Trailokyamalla-Vira-Sāntara (II), in an inscription which falls within Somesvara's reign, shows that he was a vassal of the latter (111). Again, the presence of a queen named Hoysaladevi in the palace of Somesvara suggests that Vinayāditya of Dorasamudra also joined the side of the Chālukyas, very probably as a subordinate ally. We should note in this connection that he definitely acknowledge Vikramāditya VI as his overlord. The inclusion of parts of the "Rēnāṇḍu 7000", which comprised parts of Arcot, Cuddapah and Nellore, within the sphere of Somesvara's influence, is indicated by the decapitation suffered by a Vaidumba chief at the hands of the Chola king at the battle of Kudal-sangamam while fighting on the enemy's side. (112) This is also confirmed by the statement regarding the capture of Chēraṃ in the Puli-nāḍu (Charla in ^uEnganur taluk Chittoor district) by

(110a) DKD. 567.

(112) see above.

(111) EC. VII. SK. 63.

Vīra-Rājendra from the Chālukyas to which we have referred above. On the east, as we have seen, Somesvara almost certainly exercised suzerainty over Chakrakōṭa, Kalinga and Veṅgī till they were recovered by the Cholas immediately before his death. It is possible that the Kākatiya chief Prola I was specially appointed to administer the Anumakondavishaya (Warangal area) in order to guard the frontier in this region. The capital of this extensive empire was situated, as we have seen, at Kalyāṇī, which seems to have been vastly developed by the king, and it is in this sense that we have to interpret the statement of Bilhana that Somesvara was the maker of Kalyāṇī.

Four queens of Somesvara are mentioned by Fleet, namely, Bāchaladevī, Chandrikādevī, Mañaladevī, and Ketāladevī. We now know of two more, that is, Hoysaladevī and Līladevī. (113) The name of four of the king's sons have come down to us. Three of these were in order of seniority Somesvara (II), Vikramāditya and Jayasīṃha, born of Bāchaladevī. (114) The position of the fourth, Vishnuvardhana-Vijayāditya, cannot be determined. Neither do we know the name of his mother. All these princes served under their father as provincial governors,

(113) Rice, Mysore and Coorg, p. 98.

(114) DKD. 440n. Bilhana says that these princes were born sometime after the accession of their father to the throne as a boon from the god Siva. But this is a poetic fancy. Note that Vikramāditya and Vijayāditya fought against the Cholas even before 1044 A.D. (see also IA. 1919. 133f)

and must have gained considerable experience in civil and military matters. Somesvara II held the Belvola-Buligere provinces during the years 1049 and 1054 A.D., and was styled Chālukya-Chūdāmani and Vengipura-varesvara. (115) Vikramāditya ruled Gaṅgavādi and Banavāsi in 1055 A.D. Two years later we find Nolambavādi added to the list. Next year (1058) he was ruling Gaṅgavādi, Banavāsi and Sāntalige 1000. Two inscriptions of 1060 A.D. however, mention him as administering Gaṅgavādi only. (116) The prince assumed typical Gaṅga titles and is described as Chālukya-Vikramāditya-Gaṅga-Permādi, lord of Kuvaḷālapura, Nandagiri-nātha, Nanniya-Gaṅga etc. Jayasimha is found controlling the Tardavādi 1000 in 1064 A.D. He is given the Pallava titles of mahā-Pallāvanvaya^a Sri-Prīti^avī^a-vall^abha-mahārājādhirāja-paramesvara-Kāñchi^a-puravanesvara-Trailokyamalla-Nolamba-Pallava-Permānadi. (117) Vishnuvardhana-Vijayāditya governed the Nolambavādi 32000 from 1063 to 1066 A.D., and in addition Kadambalige 1000 and Ballakunde 300 in 1065. (118) He is described as Vengimandalesvara, Ahavamalla-aṅkakāra, Sāhasamalla, Chālukya-mānikya. The Vikramāṅkadeva-charita does not show any acquaintance with the last mentioned prince, and relates that amongst the other three Vikramāditya alone acquired

(115) EI. XVI. 53f; BK I. I. Nos. 84 and 90.

(116) EI. XIII. 168f, BK. 69 of 1936; SII. IX. I. 118; EC. VII. SK. 83, 152 XI. 2g. 140. (117) BK. 23 of 1937, 43 of 1938, DKD. 440.

(118) EI. IV. 212f; SII. VI. Nos. 574-75; IX. I. Nos. 126-28; EC. VII. ci. 18.

all the "sciences" and showed remarkable ability for government and soldiery. Somesvara I, therefore, conceived the idea of making him the Yuvarāja, and thus to designate him the heir apparent by passing over the claims of his first-born. The prince, we are told, refused this very high honour, and continued as before to bear "the burden of the duties of the king and of the Yuvarāja, just as the primeval tortoise carried the serpent Śeṣha and the earth". Bühler thinks that this part of the narrative of Vikramāditya's life has been touched up by the poet. (119) It is, however, interesting to note that Vikramāditya, Jayasinha and Vijayāditya find mention - the former repeatedly - as participants in the wars against the Cholas during their father's life time; Somesvara II is not mentioned even once. The assignment of the important province of Gangavādi to the care of Vikramāditya also perhaps testifies to the confidence reposed in his courage and ability by his father.

The manner of Somesvara I's death is rather interesting. Bilhana tells us that being afflicted by an incurable malady he drowned himself into the Tungabhadra. The king was a Śaiva by faith. (120)

(119) Vikramānkaśarita. III. 26-59; Intro. p. 31. Note that an inscription from Galaganatha, dated in Chālukya-Vikrama year 5, states that Vikramāditya defeated the Pallavas when he was a Yuvarāja. (Elliot. I. 1856; DKD. 442n).
 (120) see also EC. VII. SK. 136.

CHAPTER IX.

SOMESVARA II and VIKRAMĀDITYA VI.

Somesvara II's accession to the throne took place on the 11th of April 1068 A.D. (1). He had the distinctive epithet of Bhuvanaikamalla.

The chief incidents of this reign are thus found in the Vikramāṅk^{duva}acharita. When Somesvara I died, Vikramāditya was on his way back from an expedition to the south. He heard the sad news when he had come near the river Krishna and great was his grief. But after performing the obsequies suitable to the occasion he proceeded towards Kalyāṇi to console his elder brother. The latter came out to meet him, and the two brothers lived for some time in amity and friendship. Vikramāditya showed to the king the honour due to him, and offered him his share of the booty obtained in war. Somesvara, however, soon fell into evil courses, and alienated all right-minded persons by his arrogance, suspiciousness, cruelty and avarice. When Vikramāditya found out that he even intended to do harm to him, he left the court, taking Jayasinha with him, and was accompanied by a large body of armed followers. Somesvara then sent several armies in pursuit of the fugitives, but on each occasion they were defeated, and after repeated failures he left his brothers in peace. Vikrama next

rested his army on the bank of the Tungabhadra, and after spending some time in the Banavasi country once again resumed his march towards the south with the object of fighting with the Cholas. At this stage Jayakesi, king of Konkana (identified with Jayakesi I of the Goa Kadambari family) came with presents, and the lord of the Alupas also offered his submission. Realising that he would not be able to cope with the Chalukya prince, the Chola king (Vira-Rajendra) sent his envoy to arrange for peace. The conditions were that Vikramaditya was to retire to the Tungabhadra, and that the daughter of the Chola king was to be given in marriage to him. Vira-Rajendra and Vikramaditya then met together on the bank of the river and the nuptials were duly celebrated. The former died almost immediately after this event. The Chola kingdom was now thrown into a state of confusion, and anarchy. But Vikramaditya went thither, and entering Kanchi restored order. He next fell upon "Gangakunda" (i.e. Gangai-konda-cholapuram), and destroying the army of the enemy secured the throne for his brother-in-law (Adhirajendra). But the work of Vikrama did not last. Soon after his departure a fresh rebellion broke out and Adhirajendra was killed. Rajiga, the lord of Vengi (Rajendra-Kulottunga I) seized the Chola throne and proclaimed himself the king. Vikrama

at once started to punish the usurper. But the latter prevailed upon Someśvara to join his forces with him and to destroy their common enemy. Vikramāditya became very much distressed when he heard of the intention of his brother, and sought to bring about a reconciliation. Someśvara made a show of acceptance of his proposals, but all the while harboured treacherous intentions in his mind. When Vikramāditya, at last, confronted Rājiga, the army of the Chālukya king was not far off. The battle took place next morning. Rājiga was defeated and fled away, and Someśvara fell a prisoner in the hands of the victor. Thereupon with great reluctance, and through the intercession of Śiṣya, Vikramāditya deposed his brother, and ascended ~~to~~ the throne (2).

Such is then the story of the unfortunate reign of Someśvara II as related by the Court poet of Vikramāditya VI. The Gadag inscription of his twenty-third year (1098 A.D.) substantially corroborates the cause of the fall of Someśvara II as given by Bilhana, and says that "after pursuing for some time the course of

(2) Vikramāṅkacharita, IV, 69 -VI.99. Introduction, pp.31-37

righteousness (he) became infatuated with pride, and neglected his subjects' burdens, whereupon he was removed by the virtuous Vikramāditya" (3).

Let us now turn to the evidence of some other epigraphic records, and try to build up the story of Somesvara II's reign in the light of them. The reign of the king began under the shadow of a Chola invasion. In a record, dated in his sixth year (1068 A.D.) Vira-~~Rajendra~~ claims that he defeated Somesvara before the latter could take off his kanthikā or necklet, and after burning the city of Kampili, erected a pillar of victory at Karadikka (4). A Chālukya record of the same year also admits that taking advantage of a new reign, Vira-Chola came with an immense force, and besieging Gutti did much damage. But Somesvara compelled him to turn his back (5). The Chola plates of the Chola king, dated in his seventh year (1069 A.D.) informs us that he routed the army of Somesvara, and compelled him to abandon the Kannada country. Then he invested the Chālukya prince

(3) EI. XV. p. 349, verse 15.

(4) EI. XXV. 249; SII. III. 201. Karadikka has been identified with a village in the Lingsagar taluk of the Raichur district (Colas I. 333).

(5) E. C. VII. Sk. 136

Vikramāditya with the Kanthikā, and bestowed on him the whole of Rattapādi (6). Some scholars think that the above events mentioned in the records of the sixth and seventh years of Vira-Rājendra are identical, and according to them the evidence tends to show that immediately after the death of Ahavamalla, and almost before the coronation of Someśvara II was completed, the Chola King led an expedition into the Chālukya territory for upholding the cause of Vikramāditya (7). But it appears to us that there was a short interval between the two invasions of Vira-Rājendra mentioned above. The Chālukya record of 1068 A.D. which speaks of Someśvara's victory over the Cholas, also contains the following statement: (8) "Junior is king Vira-Gaṅga (Vikramāditya) to me (Someśvara II); to that Permādi-deva the next junior is Vira-Nolambadeva (Jayasimha); to me, to Permādi and to Singi you are junior; thus with favour exalting him, Someśvara II gave to Lakshman full and dignified rank". It is further said that Lakshman became the lord of Banavāsi, Vikrama (vira?) - Nolamba - lord of Nolambavādi, Sindavādi and the Gaṅgamaṇḍalika (apparently Vikramāditya) the lord of the territory beginning from

(6) EI. XXV. 265.

(7) *ibid.* 249; Colas I. 333.

(8) Ec. VII. Sk. 136.

Alampura "in view of their being as a long bar (or bolt) to the south"(8). Till the date of the issue of this record, therefore, there was no apparent breach between Somesvara II and Vikramaditya VI. Bilhana also, as we have seen, records that the brothers lived for some time in peace. The Charla plates, however, definitely show that this period was a short one. The causes of the estrangement were, as given in the records of the time of Vikramaditya, Somesvara's negligence of state affairs, cruelty, capriciousness and intrigues against his more talented brother. But one may feel inclined to doubt if this really contains the whole truth.(9) We may note in this connection that a Balagamve inscription, dated 1071 A.D. refers to a general conspiracy against Somesvara II which was ultimately put down by his general Udayaditya (10).

 (9) It is difficult to judge the character of Somesvara on the basis of evidence supplied entirely by the records of Vikramaditya's reign. The Annigere and Gavarwad inscriptions show that he tried to repair some of the ravages wrought by Rajaditya to the temples of Belvola in his last invasion (EI.XV.337f; 347-48). A late inscription of the time of Vikramaditya described Somesvara II as "dear to the world of poets" (EC.XI.Dg.1).

(10) Mysore Inscription, p.164, HPD.128.

However that may be, the retirement of Vikramāditya from the capital, and his march towards the south, as stated by Bilhana, were actual facts (11); so also his meeting with Jayakesī of Goa. We learn from a Kadamba inscription that when Vikramāditya arrived near the confines of the Kingdom of Jayakesī, the latter hastened to meet him, gave his daughter in marriage to him, and also bestowed upon him "abundant ornaments, many damsels, and wedding gifts without count." (12) It is really curious to note that Bilhana speaks of the presents brought by Jayakesī, but does not refer to the marriage on that occasion.

(11). Ec. XI. Dg. 1. dated 1123 A.D. contains the following statement:- "setting forth in search of great wealth, this favourite of the earth, together with his brother (Jayasimha?) a fine army and the son of his friend, arrived through manifold dangers at the shore of the ocean, where the glory of his terrible fortune shone forth". This possibly refers to the departure of Vikramāditya for the south after he incurred the displeasure of Somēśvara II.

(12) Narendra inscription, EI. XIII. 298 ff.

The next important incident was the alliance between Vikramāditya and Vīra-Rajendra, which was cemented by another marriage. But the circumstances which brought about this "diplomatic revolution", as narrated by Bilhana, are clearly overdrawn. On the other hand, Vīra-Rajendra's claim that he drove away Someśvara from the Kannada country and conferred upon Vikramāditya the entire Rattapādi is also a gross exaggeration. Epigraphic evidence clearly indicates that Someśvara II's authority continued to be recognised in Banavāsi, Belvola and Puligere almost till the end of his reign(13). But at the same time there cannot be any doubt that Vikramāditya established himself in Nolambavādi and the adjoining region as an independent ruler. We have one inscription from Doni in the Dharwar district(13a), two from Bellary district, dated 1071 and 1073 A.D. two from Anantapur district, dated 1072 and 1073 A.D. and one from Chitaldrug taluk, dated in December 1073 A.D.,

(13) See Bk. I. 1.1. Nos. 109-118; Bk. 18 of 1934; 75 of 1936. E.C. VII. Sk. 51. 130; ET. XIX. 184 etc

(13a). Bk. 27 of 1928

which mention Vikramāditya as reigning with full sovereign titles.(41). It is interesting to note in this connection that the last mentioned epigraph (one from the Chitaldrug Taluk) describes Jayasinha as a subordinate of Vikramāditya, and as anna-nissimam, not bounded by his elder brother, probably Someśvara II. An inscription of Jayakesī I, dated 1071 A.D. also refers to Tribuvanamalla, i.e. Vikramāditya VI, as the reigning king, and it further claims that Jayakesī established the western Chālukyas in their kingdom, and caused the Chālukya and the Chola to be friends at Kāñchī (15). The inference naturally suggests itself that it was through his instrumentalities that the alliance between Vikramāditya and Vīra-Rājendra was brought about, and it was probably through the help of the Cholas that Vikramāditya was able to seize a portion of the Chālukya dominions. Another inscription also dated in 1071 A.D. tells us that Vikramāditya was ruling Govindavādi after his victory over the Dandanāyaka Chiddaya(16).

(14) SII. IX.1. 1008. 135-138; EC.XI.Chital.82.

(15) SIE.A.R.Ins no.431 of 1926

(16) SII IX.1. No.135.

The latter was very probably an officer of Someśvara II.

The Niralgi inscription of 1074 A.D. refers to a mahāmandalesvara Vikramāditya and one Bhuvanaikamalla-Pallava-Permanadi Vishṇuvardhana(?) - Vijayāditya, and further says that they made a tour of state for the king Bhuvanaikamalla at the standing camp of Bankāpura (17). Dr. Barnett identifies these two personages with the king's brothers so named (18). In this case we shall have to presume that about this time some sort of reconciliation was effected between Someśvara II and Vikramāditya. This is also perhaps indicated by the fact that an inscription from Holal, in the Hadagalli taluk, Bellary district, which was probably included within Nolambavādi, refers to Bhuvanaikamalla as the reigning king (18a). The cause of this change of mind among the brothers is not apparent. It is, however, not altogether impossible that about this time Vikramāditya conceived the plan of leading his army against the Chola king Kulottuṅga I (Rājiga), and desired to secure the neutrality of his elder brother by making a show of submission.

(17) EI. XVI 68f.

(18) Ib. p. 69

(18a) SII. IX.1.139.

But the breach between the two brothers was too wide to be spanned, and suspicion against each other too deep to be altogether removed. Someśvara soon succumbed to the temptation of an alliance with Kulottunga, when it was offered to him, to destroy his hated rival. We have recounted Bilhana's version of the results of the war that followed after this. An inscription from the Shikarpur taluk, dated 1077 A.D. says that Vikramāditya chased away the feudatories of both emperors (ubhaya-chakresvara-sāmanta-bhūbhṛit) who fell upon him, and became the lord of the Lakshmi of the Chālukya kingdom (19). Another from Davanagere describes Vikramāditya as the monarch who pursued both the kings (20). On the other hand, inscriptions of the seventh year of Kulottunga (1077 A.D.) apparently referring to the above mentioned conflict, claim victory for him, and state that he drove away Vikkalan and Siṅṅanan to plunge into the Western oceans (21). In some other records it is said that Kulottunga obtained as a result of his victory the two countries of Gaṅgamandalam and Siṅṅanam, troops of elephants and crowds of women (22).—

(19) E.C.VII.Sk.124.

(20) EC.XI.Dg.1.

(21) N.H.Sastri, Colas, II. p.11.

(22) *id.*

Whoever might have won the battle, one fact is certain.

Somesvara II fell into the hands of his brother and lost his throne. How he ultimately ended his life is not known to us.

[Besides Jayakesin I several other Chālukya samantas seem to have joined the side of Vikramāditya about this time or a little before, and immensely helped him in these difficult days. The Vratakhanda of Hemādri tells us that the Yādava Seunachandra II saved Paramārdideva (i.e. Vikramāditya) from a coalition of his enemies and established him on the throne of Kalyāṇi (23). A Hoysala inscription, dated in the twenty-fifth year of Vikramāditya says that Ereyanṅa, at the command of the emperor (Vikramāditya) caused his elder brother to sheathe his sword, and the Chola ruler to wear leaves (24). But Rāya-Pāṇḍya, another feudatory of the king, who calls himself the destroyer of the designs of Rājiga-Chola (25), also may have joined the side of Vikramāditya at the time of the above mentioned Chālukya-Chola war.

(22) *ibid.*, pp 10-11

(23) DKD .515

(24) EC.V.Ar.102.

(25) SII.IX.180. 141.

Another chief, who was also brought under the subjection of Vikramāditya through the instrumentality of Jayakesin I probably about the same time, was the Kadamba Kīrtivarman II of Hangal (25a).

Early in his reign Someśvara II also came into conflict with the king of Malwa. This is evidenced by a Sudi inscription which describes him as "a blazing ^{submarine} fire to the ocean that is the race of the Mālavās"^(25b) 7. Again an inscription from Balagamve dated 1071 A.D. tells us that the king's subordinate dandanāyaka Udayāditya completely defeated the Mālava king "who had raised his enmity, and all those who had secretly conspired against the throne and against the master, and seizing their property and women laden with jewels he handed them over to his emperor (Someśvara II)". The contemporary Mālava king has been identified with Jayasimha, son of Bhoja, and it has been supposed that he probably made common cause with Vikramāditya VI, and thereby gave offence to Someśvara II. A Paramāra epigraph gives the information that immediately before the accession of Udayāditya (successor of Jayasimha) the kingdom was overwhelmed by the united forces of Karna and the Karnaṭas. Karna has been

(25a) Narendra inscription, EI. XIII. 298 ff.

(25b) EI. XV. 97f.

identified by some with the Chalukya king Karna and by others with the Haihaya or Chedi king of the same name, and it is quite possible that Somesvara II wreaked his vengeance upon the king of Malwa by entering into a coalition with one of the above mentioned rulers. But the success of the allies was short-lived, and they were expelled from Malava by Udayaditya (26). The names of two of the queens of Somesvara II are mentioned in an inscription at Sivapuram in the Kurnul district. They were Kañchaladevi and Mallaladevi (27). It is not known whether he left any son. (27).

The last known date of Somesvara II is 1st September 1076 (28). An inscription from Wadageri, dated Chalukya-Vikrama year 1, Phalgunasudi 5, Nala Samvatsara, corresponding to the 31st January 1077, refers to a mahādāna on the occasion of the coronation of Vikramāditya (29).

(26) This entire episode has been discussed in detail, with relevant references, by D.C. Ganguly in his History of the Paramāras, pp. 127 f. See also E.I. XXVI. 179f. Ganguly thinks that the Hoysala Ereyanga also took part in the war against the Malava king on behalf of Somesvara II. But the former was a partisan of Vikramāditya VI, and we are inclined to assign the achievement of Ereyanga in this respect to the reign of the former. ~~former~~ ^{latter} (Vikramāditya).

(27) SII. IX. No. 134.

(28) BK, I. 1.1. 117.

(29) Elliot. I. 165; DKD. 446

We may, therefore, with reasonable certainty place the accession of the king between these two dates. He assumed the *Śiruda Tribhuvanamalla*. In certain inscriptions he is also referred to as *Chālukya-chakravarti*, *Chālukya-Rāma*, *Rāya-Nārāyana*, *Rāya-Kolahala* and *Permanadi* (30).

Vikramāditya signalled his accession to the throne by annulling the *Śaka* era, and instituting a reckoning of his own. The Wadageri inscription referred to above shows that it was certainly done before 31st January, 1077. The motive of the king in taking this measure is thus described in the Yadarave inscription:-- "Having said "why should the glory of the kings Vikramāditya and Nanda be a hindrance any longer?" he, with a loudly uttered command, abolished that(era) which has the name of *Śaka*, and made that (era) which has the *Chālukya* counting"(31). It is not unlikely that the king was inspired by a revival of the Vikramāditya tradition in certain parts of India about this time(32). The reckoning was continued for about a century. The last known year is 102 (33).

(30) *SIIE.AR.1927.App.C.No.96*; *EC.XI.Dg.1*; *SII.IX.1.197*; *MAS. 1929. p.131f*; *Elliot.I.536,EC.VII.Sk.137.297*

For variants of the personal name of the king see *DKD.446*

(31) *Elliot I.223, lines 5 -7*; *DKD.447*

(32) *Advanced History of India, p.184.*

(33) *Bk.54 of 1934. See also DKD.447n.*

We have seen above that Bilhana bears testimony to the solicitude of Vikramāditya for his younger brother Jayasimha. An inscription of the latter describes him as "an abode of modesty, Vikrama Nolamba; a cherished companion of Vikramāditya's heart; a beloved younger brother who, having won over king Chālukya-Rāma, had mounted up and gained his affection" (34). Bilhana says that upon his accession Vikramāditya conferred the viceroyalty of Banavāsi on Jaysimha. We know from other sources that the latter was elevated to the position of Yuvarāja, and ⁱⁿ that capacity ruled Banavāsi, Belvola, Puligere, Sāntalige Thousand, Kundur thousand, Mandali thousand, Karuve thousand, Bāsavalli Thousand and Hayve (35). There cannot be any doubt that, next to the king, this prince was the most powerful individual in the state. His loyalty to the king, in the beginning, was unquestioned. But power soon intoxicated his brain, and he appears to have aspired to full sovereign rights, and began to make preparation for the realisation of that end. Bilhana informs us that he tyrannised over his subjects and filled his coffers with money.——

(34) EC.VII.SK.297.

(35) For some inscriptions of Jayasimha, see Bk.128 of 1927, 237 of 1929, 42 and 43 of 1934; MAS.1929, p.111. 131; 1930, p.23, 235; EC.VII.SK.107, 293; EI.IV.214f. XVI.58f, 239; Elliot, I.185b. DKD.449 and note.

He increased his army, and brought under his own subjection some neighbouring forest tribes. He even made overtures to the Chola king for help. Vikramāditya heard all these, but shrank from taking any action with the prospect of another fratricidal war. He exhorted his brother to give up the idea of rebellion, but the advice fell upon a deaf ear. Jayasimha advanced on the Kṛishnā, where ^{many} mandalikas joined him. This further accession to his strength made him still more certain of victory. To harass the king he allowed his soldiers to loot and burn the country-side and to carry the inhabitants into captivity. These excesses must have goaded Vikramāditya to exasperation. He now collected an army and proceeded to punish the rebel. At this stage once more he tried reconciliation, but when this failed he gave orders to strike. The rival forces were routed, and its leader was taken a prisoner. But the king treated him with kindness and pardoned him. These events must have happened after the seventh year (1082-83) of the Chālukya king. Till then we find Jayasimha acknowledging the suzerainty of his brother (36). He was obviously removed from his office and is heard of no more.

(36) Bk.128 of 1927; MAS 1930. p.231.

Recounting the exploits of Jaysimha before his rebellion, an inscription, which has been assigned by Rice to about 1078 A.D., says that through the aid of the Nolamba the seven Konkanas became like the bracelet of the emperor (37). Another, of 1080 A.D. informs us that because of the prowess of this prince "Dāhale was still smoking, Lāla was trying to enter the forest, Tivula (i.e. the Cholas) tried to run south of Lankā, and Konkana, thinking that he will be angry, was filled with anxiety" (37a). Vikramāditya's own achievements during this period are thus found in two inscriptions, dated 1077 and 1084 A.D. (38). The earlier one states that "to use his sword on the Chola king he thought not much of, to the Lāla he showed the might of his arms, overcoming him; to the lord of Dhārā he was a source of great fever of terror". The later one says that "the hostile Cholas come not in battle, Lāla's play has been put far away, Malepas show not their heads, Konkanas quiver like a lotus-leaf". There can hardly be any doubt that Jaysimha's exploits were performed in the course of wars waged by his brother.

(37) E.C.VII. Sk.107

(37a) E.C.VII. Sk.297

(38) E.C.VII. Sk.124; Sudī inscription of S.1006 (Ep.XV.100f)

The subjugation of Konkana, or properly speaking northern Konkana (39) was probably necessitated by an attempt on the part of the successor of the Silahara Mumukṣu to shake off the authority of the Chālukyas during the period of the civil war. An inscription dated 1077 A.D. says that the Kadamba chief Kirtivarman II subdued the seven Konkanas as if in sport (40). He seems to have been acting in concert with prince Jayasimha.

There are two inscriptions of a subordinate of Jayasimha, named Tambarasar, to show that a new war had to be waged with the Cholas in or before 1080 A.D. (41). One of these records says that "on account of his (Tambarasar's) fear Chola lost his heart, vacated his capital and ran away; chasing the troop of the Chola King at Maḍakedore he set up a pillar of victory. What a game did he bring to the Chālukya emperor? The Chola king Jayagonda of Gaṅgegonḍapuram was overcome by fear, and Tambarasar, under the order of the emperor of Kuntala, set up a pillar of fame in Jayagondaḍapuram, and also had a flag

(39) Southern Konkana was under the Goa Kadambas whose ruler Jayakesiṇ I was a loyal supporter of Vikramāditya.

(40) EC. VIII. st. 262.

(41) MAS. 1929. p. 131 ff; 1930 p. 235 ff.

set up in the city and an inscription slab put up.

Tambarasar crossed the Ghātā in the south and on its slopes set up with great valour a pillar of victory for thrashing Rājiga". The other inscription describes Tambarasar as a victor over the Chola king, who confronted him in battle, and the destroyer of Kāñchīpura.

The Hoysala Ereyanga also seems to have joined in this campaign, and it is said of him that he dragged out the Chola and completely plundered his capital (42). There cannot be any doubt that this war is described by Bilhana in Chapter XVII, verse 43-48, of the Vikramānka-charita.

It is said there that the Chola became again proud and insolent. Vikramāditya, therefore, led an expedition against him. The Chola king fled away after being defeated in the battle and the victor entering Kāñchī amused himself there for some time before returning to his capital.

An inscription of 1114 A.D. says that Kāñchī was overwhelmed by the ~~raet~~ of Vikrama's elephants (43). We must however note that there is no indication in Chola records to show that any disaster of the kind narrated above befell their capital. Yet in view of both epigraphic and literary evidences cited above we cannot altogether reject the claim of a Chālukya victory over the Cholas at this time which perhaps resulted in the spoliation of their capital (44).

(43) EC.VII.Sk.37

(44) Commenting upon the narrative found in the Vikramāñkacharita N.K. Sastri observes that "Bilhana's rhapsodic account of a final expedition against Kāñcī for the exercise of his hero's arms itching for a fight in the absence of suitable foes, can hardly be accepted as true". But Bilhana's account certainly does not stand uncorroborated by contemporary records.

It also appears that from the last decade of the eleventh century onwards, Vikramāditya VI was almost constantly engaged in attempts to oust the Cholas from the province of Vengī, and his efforts were ultimately crowned with success. Inscriptions of the king have been found at Drākshārām dated in the regnal year 17 (1093 A.D.) S 1021 (1099 A.D.), and the regnal years 45 to 49 (C.1121-25 A.D.) (45)

A pillar inscription at Nidikonda records grants of land within the Vengī country made by the wives of Duggarasa, lord of Nāṭavādu, who was a subordinate of Vikramāditya (46). Several other inscriptions of the king have been found in the Wuntur district, three of which furnish interesting information (47). One of these bearing the date year 40 (1115-16 A.D.) refers to a gift made by the king himself in the presence of his general Anantapāla and several other officers. Another dated year 41 (1116 A.D.) tells us that while the

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- (45) IMP. II.Gd.127, 160; SII. IV.Nos 1035, 1111, 1211-3, 1216, 1228-9, 1250-1, 1253, 1255-6, 1298, 1308, 1310, 1356-8, 1364. SII.V.No.51 is an undated inscription of Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramāditya) found at Bhimavaran, Godavari district.
 (46) An.Rep.of the Arch.Dept.of the Niz am's Dom.1933-34.p.19f.
 (47) SII.IX.1.nos.193-96; VI.Nos.112-13.

queen Padmaladevī was ruling over the agrahara Māngola (apparently Magola in the Hadagalli taluk, (Guntur district) she, at the request of the Mahājanas of the locality, gave orders to Puliyama-Nāyaka to make a gift of land to the god Narasinghadeva (at Rangapuram, Hadagalli taluk). The ~~kind~~ fourth informs us that in the year 43 (1118 A.D.) Anantapāla was ruling Vengī fourteen thousand. Another record, dated 1121 A.D. says that the king's subordinate Lakshmarasa, governor of Belvola and Puligere, was for some time in charge of the Telugu country (48). Finally, an inscription at Tripurantakam (Kurnul district), dated 1126 A.D. reports that at that time Anantapāla was ruling "Bengī twelve-thousand" and Emmedale six-thousand, and his nephew Govinda (younger brother of the above-mentioned Lakshmarasa) was administering Kondapalli three-hundred (Kondapalli in the Kiswa district). Govinda is said to have despoiled Kumāra at Jananātharājupura, conquered Govika (the Velanandu chief Gonka II), defeated the Chola king and burnt Vengī (49). On the other hand inscriptions of Kulottunga-Chola have been found at Simhachalam dated in 1099 A.D. and at Drākshārām in a continuous series up to his forty-ninth year (1118-19 A.D.) (50).

(48) ASI. 1930 - 34. p. 243.

(49) SII. IX.1. No. 213. For the identification of Jananathapura, see DKD, 497

(50) N.K. Sastri, Colas II. 46f; IMP. III. Vz. 191.

In 1118 A.D. Vikrama-Chola left Veṅgī and went to the south. After this no Chola record is found till we come to the ninth year of his reign (51). These facts leave no room for doubt that the possession of Veṅgī formed the bone of contention between the Cholas and the Chālukyas for almost a quarter of a century (c.1093-1118), and after varying degrees of success achieved by both sides, the issue was finally decided in favour of the Chālukyas about 1118 A.D., and the province was placed in charge of Anantapāla.

Regarding Vikramāditya's conflict with the rulers of Lāṭa and Dāhala, no detailed information has come down to us. An inscription at Muddagavur dated in year 32 (1110 A.D.) claims that he conquered enemy kings, Karṇa and others (52). We are inclined to think that the latter is very probably to be identified with the Haihaya Yaśaḥ-Karṇa (1073, 1078 A.D.) ruler of the Dāhala country (53). A Ron inscription, dated 1180 A.D. tells us that the Sinda mahāmandaleśvara Āchugi II (known date 1122 A.D.) defeated the king of Dāhala (54).

(51) Colas II. 46

(52) Elliot.I. p.294 b. lines 12 - 16.

(53) His identity with the Chālukya king Karṇa cannot be entirely precluded.

(54) EI.XIX. 226f

Our evidence seems to suggest that Vikramāditya VI came into conflict with the Haihayas at least on two occasions - once at the very beginning of his reign when Prince Jayasimha took part, and a second time at a later period, in which Achugi II won distinction. We may also mention in this connection that an inscription at Yarabalu, Bellary district, records that the Nolamba chief Pāṇḍyadeva chased the king of Ratnapura at his master's command (55). This statement seems to contain an allusion to Vikramāditya's conflict with the Tummana branch of the Haihayas as well.

The statement that "to the lord of Dhārā (Vikramāditya) was the source of a great fever of terror", found in the *inscriptions* of 1077 A.D. quoted above, ^(55a) probably recalls his exploits in Mālava performed during the reign of his father. There is however reason to believe that not long after his accession to the throne Vikramāditya tried to reassert his authority over the Paramāras. Some time before 1087 A.D. he wrested from the Paramāra King Udayāditya the region round about the modern city of Nagpur.

(55) SII. IX. 1. No. 205. (55a) Ec. VII. SK. 124

This is evidenced by the Sitalbaldi inscription of the Chālukya monarch, which mentions a feudatory of his, named Dhādibhā(m)ḍaka of the Mahārāshtrakūṭa lineage, who was governing in that locality (56). But the acquisition did not prove permanent. The Nagpur inscription of Paramāra Naravarman, a younger son of Udayāditya, shows that he was in possession of the surrounding country in 1104-5 A.D. But it was apparently reconquered by his elder brother and predecessor Lakshmadeva, who carried his military operations to the foot of the Vindhya mountain, and the bank of the Revā, and also made a grant to a temple at Bhandak in the Chanda district, which lay to the south of the Nagpur District (57). But the hostile activities of the Chālukyas against the Paramāras still continued after this. The Abbalur inscription of year 26 (1101 A.D.) states that at the command of the Chālukya emperor, Dandanāyaka Annantapāla led an expedition to the north and gave the seven Mālavas to the flames (58). There are several other inscriptions which speak of Hoysala Ereyāṅga's victory over the Mālavas at Dhārā, the earliest being dated in the twenty-fifth year of Vikramāditya (c.1100 A.D.) (59).

(56) EI. 111.304 ff.

(57) E.I. 11. 180ff; XXVI.182

(58) EI.V.229 ff.

(59) EC.V.Ak.102a. see also V.B1.58, Ar.62.93; EV.Vol.93; VIISK.64.etc., HPD pp.128f. MAS 1930, 107f.

One of these claims that he "took Dhārā, the chief city of the powerful Mālava kings, which Bhoja by victories over hostile kings had enlarged". He also burnt other principal fortresses of the great Paramāra ruler (60).

Another record says that "while[†] Chalukya was looking on, Ereyāṅga without effort plundered the Mālava king's hill fort, which was too strong for the Chālukyas" (61). A

third record says that he gained victory for the emperor and set up the standard of his fame in the north by subduing Dhārā(62). Ereyāṅga's son Vishnuvardhana is also spoken of as having "swallowed up Dhārā" (63). It is possible that he accompanied his father in the northern expedition.

Now The above mentioned facts clearly indicate that Vikramāditya made a very serious attempt to subjugate the kingdom of Mālava at the close of the eleventh century, and we should perhaps ascribe it to some special cause. Merutunga tells us that Jaṅgaddeva, probably the youngest son of Paramāra Udayāditya, was earnestly invited by the Chālukya king to his court and accepted service under him(64)

(60) EC.V.B1.58.

(61) 1b.Ak 117.

(62) EC.IV.Wal.93

(63) MAS. 1936. p.28 ff.

(64) Prabandhashintamani, translated by Tawney, p.186; EI. XXII.57

This statement receives full confirmation from the Dongargaon inscription of Jagaddeva, which tells us that the king of Kuntala graciously addressed him as "you are the first among my sons, the lord of my kingdom, my right arm, such a victory incarnate in all regions (nay) my very self" (65). Can it be then that Vikramāditya's expedition into Mālava had some connection with the coming of the Paramāra prince to his court? The find-spots of his inscriptions and the land grant recorded in one of them suggest that Jagaddeva was entrusted by Vikramāditya with the administration of a province which comprised parts of Yeotmal and Adilabad districts (66).

The Jainad inscription of Jagaddeva informs us that he led ~~out~~^{an} invasion into the Andhra country and defeated its ruler; he uprooted the king of Chakradurga; he slaughtered enemies at Dorasamudra and caused great pain in the heart of Malaharakshonīśa (67), he won a victory over the Gurjara king Jayasīma - (Siddharāja) near the Arbuda mountain, and he conquered the king Karna (68).

(65) EI.XXVI. 185

(66) EI.XXI.54; XXVI. 177 ff.

(67) It has been suggested that Malaharakshopīśa may stand for the Kanarese epithet Malaparol-ganda assumed by the Hoysala rulers (EI.XXI.58n).

(68) EI.XXI.55f and also 63n.

Jagaddeva was undoubtedly fighting the battles of Vikramāditya. We have already spoken above about the latter's conflict with a king called Karna and the struggle for the occupation of the Vengi province comprised within the Andhra country. Chālukya interference in the Chakrakōṭa kingdom is attested by the fact that the dandanāyaka Govinda, nephew of the general Anantapāla, is described in an inscription as the shaker of Chakrakūṭa (Chakrakūṭa-sañchālana) (69). The Hoysala Ereyanga and Vishnuvardhana also took part on the same errand on behalf of the Chālukya sovereign. About the former it is said that he laid waste Chakragoṭṭa (70) and regarding the latter we are told that he was a powerful lion to Someśvara, and displayed his valour before Mānikyadevi of the Chakrakūṭa throne (71). Someśvara was undoubtedly identical with the homonymous Nāgavaṃśi king for whom we have the dates 1069 and 1108 A.D. (72).

(69) S.II. VI. No.112.

(70) E.C. II. (second edition), No.349; DKD 494

(71) EC.V. Belur 16; 117, 147; VI Mudgare 22 etc.,

(72) Hirala, Inscriptions of C.P. and Berar (2nd ed).p.162f.

Māṇikyadevī also finds mention in several other inscriptions(73)
The occasion for Chālukya interference was most probably a
contest for succession.

The fact of Vikramāditya's conflict with the Chālukya
king Jayasimha-Siddharāja receives confirmation from other
sources as well. A Sudi inscription of 1107 A.D. informs us
that "he burnt the Gurjara sovereign's brilliant city"(74).
The Kanginelli inscription of the year 45 (c 1120-21 A.D.)
describes the king as a tiger to the deer that was Jayasimha
(Jayasimha-kuraṅga-sārdula (75). From a Huli inscription we
come to know that Bijjala, a feudatory of the king, "took the
royal fortune of Jayasimha of the Gurjara kingdom". A Talwara
epigraph, on the other hand, claims that it was the Chālukya king
who crushed Paramārdi, who has been correctly identified with
Vikramāditya VI (76).

(73) Hiralal, op.cit.p.169; SIE.AR.1909 p.111; 234 of 1909

(74) EI.XVI.35.

(75) Elliot, I. 356.

(76) EI.XVIII.201 ff.verse 15.

(77) DHNI. II. 967,972

The course of events appears to have been something like this: Vikramāditya led an expedition against the Gurjara king and advanced as far as Abu. There an engagement took place in which the Chālukya forces came out victorious. Thereafter they probably fell upon Anahilapātaka and plundered and burnt it. But finally the victor was compelled to turn his back by Jayasimha.

We may now consider Vikramāditya's relations with the rulers of Dorasamudra. Epigraphic evidence clearly indicates that ^{Vinayāditya} ~~Vikramāditya~~ Hoysala recognised the suzerainty of the Chālukya king from 1078 A.D. onwards till his death in 1100 A.D. (78). His son Ereyānga, as we have seen, fought on the side of his sovereign on various occasions. One record describes him as the right hand of the Chālukya king (78a). Ereyānga very probably predeceased his father, and the latter was succeeded by his grandsons, Vīra-Ballāla I and Viṣṇuvardhana, who appears to have ruled conjointly till the former's death (79). If we can rely upon the date of an inscription from the Arkikere taluk, then the raid of Jagaddeva into Dorasamudra took place in the very first year of the reign of the two brothers (80), and we learn from a late inscription that the Paramāra prince and others were sent for the purpose by the Emperor himself (81).

(78) See EC.XII.Tip.105 dated 1078 A.D., and EC.V.BI.14 dated 1100 A.D. (78a) EC.XII.Tip.58.

(78) See EC.XII.Tip.105 dated 1078 A.D., and EC.V.BI.14 dated 1100 A.D. (78a) EC.XII.Tip.58.

(79) See N.K.Sastri, Colas II.42 and note. (80) EC.V.Ar.34; EIXXI.

Why Vikramāditya VI thought it necessary to take such a drastic step is not made apparent by our records.

D.C.Ganguly suggests that the brothers very probably made an attempt to declare their independence (82). It is also possible that the punishment was deemed necessary for their aggressive activities against the Pāṇdyas of Nolambavāḍi (83). The leader of the invasion, as we have seen, claims a complete victory for himself. But a large number of Hoysala records tell us that Ballāla, together with Vishnuvardhana defeated the Mālava(?) king Jagaddēva, and in one record it is said that they captured his treasury and the central ornament of his necklace (84). Whatever might have been the result of the battle, we find that the Hoysala chiefs continued to mention the name of the paramount sovereign in their records even after this. But the control exercised over them by the latter must have been of a very loose character. We should also note that the Hoysalas occupied a strategic position of great importance in relation to the Chālukya-Chōla contest, and the defence of the southern provinces of the Chālukya

(82) EI.XXII.58

(83) EC.V.B1.58 says that Ballala I, along with Vishnuvardhana put down the Pāṇdyas and seized their wealth. Also see MAS.1913. p.35.

(84) E.C.II.349. B1.58.124, 147; VI.Kd.96. TK45. etc., EI.XXII.59

empire fell largely upon them together with the
 governors of the Banavāsi and Nolambavādi provinces.
 This fact must have afforded an opportunity to the
 Hoysalas to develop their military resources considerably.
 About the time of which we are speaking the famous
 Vaishnava reformer Rāmānuja fled before the persecution
 of the Chola king and took shelter with Vishnuvardhana.
 The event marked a turning point in the career of the
 latter. He not only embraced Vaishnavism by renouncing
 Jainism, but his new faith seems to have inspired him
 to prosecute the wars against the Cholas with greater
 vigour. Finally, Gaṅgarāja, the general of the Hoysala
 prince, succeeded in capturing Talakad and expelling
 the Cholas from Mysore some time before 1116 A.D. We
 may presume that this achievement greatly increased the
 prestige of Vishnuvardhana, and infused in his mind a
 new feeling of dignity and confidence in his own power.

In the year 1116 he also fell upon the Pāndyas of Nolambavādi, and claims to have captured the fortress of Uchchaṅgi (85). Next year 1117 A.D.) he felt himself strong enough to make an incursion into the Chālukya territories in the north (86). Relying upon the evidence of a late inscription, Fleet suggested that on this occasion the Hoysalas advanced as far as the bank of the river Krishnā, and burnt Belvola (87). But this exploit may have belonged to a later stage of Vishnuvardhana's aggression into the Chālukya territories. The invader was repulsed by the Sinda chieftain Āchugi II (88). Soon after this Vikramāditya appears to have sent a punitive expedition against Vishnuvardhana (c. 1118 A.D.). But the latter's general Gangarāja claims that he inflicted a severe defeat over the army of the Chālukya emperor Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramāditya) in a night attack when it was encamped at Kannegāla (near Hassan according to Rice) under the command of twelve sāmantas, captured their stores and vehicles, and presented them to his master (89).

(85) EC. VI. 99. ^{Rice, Mysore and Coorg, p. 100} ~~cf. also EC. V. No. 1. 48.~~ (86) MAS 1912, p. 40
 (87) DKD. 453, 497. (88) JABAAS. XI. 234, 244; DKD. 453.
 (89) EC II. (Second Ed). Nos. 73 and 125. Rice, Mysore, and Coorg, p. 99.

A late Hoysala inscription says that Vishṇuvardhana "was again and again reminded by his servants of the honour done to him by the king Paramardideva, who said "know the Hoysala alone among all the princes to be unconquerable" (90). This statement possibly gives us the clue to the future relation between the Chālukya emperor and his overpowerful feudatory. The former apparently thought it better to leave the latter alone.

Recounting the exploits of Achugi II, a Sinda inscription says, ^{that} "at the command of the universal sovereign Vikrama, he, a very lion in war and shining like a hot-rayed sun, sounding his war-cry, pursued and prevailed against Poysala, took Gove, put to flight Lakshmana in war, valorously followed after Pāndya, dispersed at all times the Malepas and seized upon Konkana" (91). Another inscription reports that he gave Gove and Uppinakatte to the flames, and "swallowed up and vomited forth a certain Bhoja, together with his troops which had invaded his country" (92). Fleet thinks that these facts "imply, either that the Kadambas of Goa, the Pandyas of Nolambavādi province, and the Silāhāras of

(90) IA. II. p. 300: R. G. Bhandarkar, Early History of the Deccan, 2nd ed. p. 150.

(91) JBBRAS. XI. 234, 244.

(92) JBBRAS. XI. 269, DKD. 453

of Karhad, joined with the Hoysalas in some general conspiracy against their sovereign, or else took advantage of the Hoysala invasion to raise disturbances on their own account" (93). We should, however, note that, as far as we can judge from other records, very friendly relations subsisted between the Kadambas of Goa and the emperor. The services of Jayakesin I for the cause of Vikramaditya have already been noticed, and his daughter was given in marriage to the latter. Vikramaditya's own daughter, Mailaladevi, was espoused by Jayakesin II. The fortune of the latter was further advanced by his father-in-law, who made him, along with his wife, the ruler over Palasige 1200, Payve 500, Kavadi dvīpa lakh and a quarter, Hānūngal 500 and several other smaller districts in addition to Konkan, 900. Lakshmarāja, who was in the service of the emperor was commissioned to the household of Mailaladevi (94). Under the circumstances it is difficult to believe that the Goa Kadamba chief entertained any treacherous design against the Chalukya king. The Pāndyas, who suffered at the

(93) DKD.453; see also EHD, 2nd ed.p.150

(94) EI.XII.298 f.300 f.

hands of the Hoysalas, also could hardly have any special reason for either collaborating with ^{them} him, or rising against their suzerain. As regards the Śilāhāras of Karhad we find it stated in the Kolāpur copper plates of Gaṇḍarāditya, dated Ś.1037 (c.1115 A.D.) that he made Vikramāditya Nissāṅkamalla (94a). This implies his loyalty to the king. Āchugi II was very probably carrying on private warfare with his neighbours which was permissible in those days.

Longer lists of Vikramāditya's conquests are found in several records. Thus an inscription of 1077 A.D. speaks of his victories over the Cholas, Lālas and the king of Dhārā, and further says that his feet were revered by the Saurāshtra, Āṅga, Kalinga, Vāṅga, Magadha, Andhra, Avanti and Pañchāla kings (95). A record of C.1088-89 ^{speaks} repeats of the king's victories over Andhra, Magadha, Kalinga, Turushka, Chaṅgāḷva, Koṅgāḷva, Chera, Śimhala, Gurjara and Mālava (95a). Another record dated in c.1099 says that the king terrified and scared the Cholika, Lāla, Gaḥḍa, Maleyāla, Telīṅga, Kalinga, Vāṅga, Pañchāla, Turushka, Gurjara, Jajāhuti, Mālava, Koṅkana and other rulers (96). An inscription of year 27 (1002-3 A.D.)

(94a) G.H.Khare, Sources of Mediaeval History of the Deccan (in Marathi) vol I. p.37 ff).

(95) EC.VII.Sk.124. (95a) Elliot I. 202.

(96) EC.VIII.Sb.325.

says that Vikramāditya conquered Vaṅga, Turushka, Chera, Kīra, Pāriyātra, Anga, Vaṅgala, Chola and others (97). A record of 1114 A.D. states he defeated the Chola, Pallava, Siṅghala, Mālava, and Gurjara and the kings of Sauvira, Abhira, Andhra, Gōlla and other places prostrated themselves at his feet (98). An inscription of 1124 A.D. refers to the king's victories over Maru, Gaṅga, Anga, Kalinga, Gauda, Magadha, Pañchāla, Nepāla, Barbara, Saurāshtra, Varāṭa, Lāṭa, Karahāṭa, Chedi, Kāsmīra, Gurjjara, Sindhu, Dravila, Andhra, Mālava, Turushka and other famous kings (99). There are several other lists of this ^{type} found in later inscriptions as well (99a). It is needless to comment upon the authenticity of claims made in the above records.

(97) Elliot I. 260 b. (98) EC.VII.sk137. (99) EC.XI.Dg.2.

(99a) EC VII.sk 100 (1129 A.D.) Humcha inscription of
Vira-Ballāla II (MAS 1911 p.47 etc.)

Coming now to the extent of Vikramāditya's empire, we find that on the north the Yādavas of Sounadesa still continued to recognise the authority of the Chālukyas during this reign. The help rendered by Seunachandra II to the emperor has already been noticed. His successor Irammadeva (Parammadeva of Hemādri) claims that he conquered the kingdom consisting of seven divisions which king Bhuvanaikamalla could not conquer, and handed it over to him, Paramardi (100). The inclusion of parts of Berar within the Chālukya dominions is, as we have seen, implied by the Dangargaon inscription of the Paramāra Jagaddeva. The king's suzerainty was very probably recognised by the Śilāhāras of Koṅṇa, and certainly by the Kadambas of Goa and Banavāsī. On the south the Pāndyas of Mōlambavādi, Sāntaras and Ālupas accepted his vassalage. As for the Hoysalas, in spite of all the incidents recounted above, Vishnuvardhana still continued to call himself a pādapaḍmōpaḡīvi of Vikramāditya. In the east Vikramāditya certainly established his authority over the Veṅgī province, and a Kākatīya inscription tells us that dandanāyaka Vaija, the hereditary minister of

(100) Asvi grant of Irammadeva, dated S.1020 (BISMJ, III.1ff) JAHS II. 93f.

Betarasa II, brought the latter to the feet of the emperor Vikramāditya, and made him rule the district of Sabbi 1000 as a feudatory of that monarch (101). This is also confirmed by the inscriptions of Betarasa II and of his son Prota II which mention Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramaditya) as their suzerain (102).

Finally we may note that the fame of Vikramāditya spread beyond the limits of the Deccan. Harsha of Kāśmīra formed projects[†] leading an expedition against the Karnāṭa king and capturing his queen Chandaladevi (103). Vikramāditya also exchanged a diplomatic embassy with the king of Ceylon (104). Furthermore, though the reign of the Chālukya king was full of military activities, yet he found time to patronise some of the noble arts of peace. It was in his court that the celebrated jurist Viññānesvara composed his famous digest, the Mitāksharā, on the law of the Hindus. Another luminary of the king's court was of course the Kashmirian poet Bilhaṇa, from whose book we have quoted so often.

(101) EI. IX. 256f.

(102) *ibid.* Also see A Corpus[✓] Inscriptions in the Telingana Districts of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions, p.22f.etc.,

(103) DHNI. I. 151.

(104) Sewell, HSI. p.88.

Fleet refers to six queens of Vikramāditya VI, namely, Sāvaladevī, Lakshamādevī, Jakkaladevī, Malleyamadevī, Chandaladevī and Mālaladevī. Three others were Ketaladevī, Padmaladevī and Bhāgaladevī. Among the children of the king the names of two sons, Someśvara and Jayakarna, and one daughter Mailalamahādevī were previously known. Three inscriptions now show that Vikramāditya had a son named Mallikārjuna, who was elevated to the position of the Yuvarāja and ruled for some time the Tardavādi province. He apparently predeceased his father. (106)

(105) SII.IX.I. 159, 195; BK.90 of 1928.

(106) BK.90 of 1930; 3 of 1931; EI.XV.26n,29.

CHAPTER X.

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE LATER CHĀLUKYAS.

II. INTRODUCTION.

With the death of Vikramāditya VI we enter the end of an epoch. Hitherto the main interest in the political history of the later Chālukyas lay in external affairs, - in their struggle for power with their neighbours, particularly in the north and the south. During the succeeding period we still hear of claims of victories over the Cholas, Lāṭa, Mālava, Gurjaras, Kāliṅgas and others. In some cases they may have been real, but none of them, as far as we can judge in the present state of our knowledge, was of any great moment. The threat to the Chālukya rule in the Deccan came not from any foreign quarter, but from the operation of the centrifugal forces of local autonomy within the empire. It appears that so long as the Paramāras and the Cholas were powerful, the necessity of self-protection compelled the Yādava, Hoysala and Kākatiya chiefs to acknowledge the suzerainty of the rulers of Kalyāṇi. But from the beginning of the twelfth century the Paramāras were engaged in a deadly struggle with the Chālukyas, and ultimately passed under the subjection of Jayasimha-Siddharāja (c.1094-1144) and

Kumārapāla (c.1144-73). The Chola empire also began to decline during the latter years of the reign of Kulottunga I (1070-1122 A.D.). These new changes seems to have brought about a corresponding alteration in the attitude of the more powerful feudatories of the Chālukyas to their sovereign. No longer in need of any help from the latter, they gradually assumed a more independent role, and began to aggrandise themselves at the expense of their smaller neighbours and thereby to extend their territories.

The Hoysalas apparently took the lead in this respect. We have already seen how Vishnuvardhana defied the might of Vikramāditya, and practically declared his independence. After the death of that emperor he again began his hostile activities against the Chālukyas, and this time seems to have attained more tangible success. The Kākatīyas followed suit, and in the middle of the century their leader even took the emperor prisoner. The Yādavas seem to have entered the field at a later stage. In the meantime a deadlier blow at the authority of the Chālukyas was dealt by the usurpation of Bijjala, and this illegitimate grabbing of power by an officer of the state must have still further hastened the process of disintegration. Finally, we should note that linguistic differences among the Marāṭhi, Kanarese and Telugu speaking peoples,

as also religious animosities among the followers of Saivism, Vaishnavism and Jainism, also seem to have greatly weakened the unity of the Chālukya empire.

During the last two decades of the twelfth century once more a Chālukya king ruled in the Deccan, but his authority rested upon the support of an all powerful general of the army, rather than his own prestige and ability; and with him the rule of his family ended. The history of the Chālukyas after the death of Vikramāditya VI, therefore, is the history of the gradual decline and ultimate disappearance of their power in the Deccan, and the beginnings of the independent rule of the Hoysalas, Kākatīyas and Yādavas, who finally divided the Chālukya empire among themselves. Unfortunately the paucity of materials does not allow us to give a connected narrative of the various episodes that brought about this momentous change in the history of the Deccan.

II A chronological problem.

Before we pass on to describe the various events of the reigns of the successors of Vikramāditya VI it is necessary to draw attention to a chronological problem. From the study of the dates of several inscriptions of the period it appears that there was possibly some overlapping of the reigns of Vikramāditya VI and his three immediate successors. The last date of Vikramāditya VI so far known is January 14, 1127. (1) The first year of his son and successor Someśvara III fell in the Prabhava samvatsara, corresponding to 1126-27 A.D. (2) Sewell has calculated that the accession of the latter took place on a day between July 24 and October 5, 1126 A.D. (3) An inscription from the Sorab taluk would seem to indicate that this latter event may have happened even before the 8th February 1126. (4) The last known record of Someśvara III is dated in the month of Phālguna of the Kālayukt samvatsara (regnal year 13), falling in the beginning of the year 1139 A.D. (5) The earliest known date of the next king, Jagadekamalla, fell in December 1137 A.D., and his last known verifiable date ^{falls} is in December 1150. (6) An inscription from the Sorab taluk ^{furnishes} finishes for him &

(1) IA. 1919, p. 2.

(2) DKD. 455.

(3) HSI. p. 99.

(4) IA. 1919, p. 2.

(5) EC. VIII. sb. 415, 417.

(6) IA. 1919, p. 3.

a date in the Prajapati¹ samvatsara (Ś1074=1151 A.D.). (7) Jagadekamalla is also invoked as the reigning sovereign in several other records with dates ranging from 1155 A.D. onwards. (8) But it does not seem probable that he was alive even in 1155 A.D. The evidence of a large number of inscriptions suggests that the rule of Taila III probably began towards the end of the Sukla samvatsara which correpond to 1149-50 A.D., while there are other records which go to show that the Pramoda samvatsara, corresponding to 1150-51 A.D. was his first year. (9) Fleet thinks that the king died before the 19th January, 1163 A.D., which is the English equivalent of the date of Annakonda inscription of the Kakatiya Rudradeva, where the event is mentioned. (10) A Venkatasubbiah, however, points out that the date of the record in question may have corresponded to the 24th December, 1163 A.D. (11) We are unable to reconcile the various discrepancies of dates noted above. One is tempted to think that from the time of Vikramāditya ^{of the} the practice of associating the crown prince with the royal function was adopted. But such a view requires further proof in support of it. The chronology of Vikramāditya VI, and his three immediate

(7) EC.VIII.56.sb.132.cl.also SII.IX.I.No.257.

(8) cf. SII.IX.I.26 Nos.265,267,270,272; MAS.1910,p.30.

(9) DKD.459n; BK.78 & 103 of 1933; 124 & 130 of 1934; 54 of 1927 etc.

(10) DKD.461-62. (11) IA.1919,p.4 and note,

successors stands somewhat as follows:-

Vikramāditya VI	1076-Jan.	1127
Somesvara III.....	1126-	1139
Jagadekamalla II	1137-	1151
Taila III	(?)1150-Dec(?)	1163.

III Somesvara III.

Vikramāditya VI's son and successor Somesvara III assumed the *Giruda Bhuvanaikamalla*. In several inscriptions, the dates of which fall within his reign, the reigning king is called Tribhuvanamalla and Trilokyamalla (12). The king seems to have been a man of wide interests, and to him is ascribed the authorship of an encyclopaedic work ^{called} ~~name~~ of *Abhilashitārtha-chintāmani* or *Mānasollāsa*, which treats of such diverse subjects as polity, astronomy, astrology, dialectics, rhetoric, poetry, music, painting, architecture, medicine, training of horses, elephants, dogs etc. Indeed for his proficiency in these different branches of knowledge he was known as *Rājasarvājña* or *Sarvajñachakravartī*.

Somesvara inherited an extensive empire from his father, but he failed to prevent the reconquest of Vengī by the Cholas. The southern half of the province was lost in the very first year of the reign. This is

(12) SII. IX. I. 225; ASI. 1930, p. 174; EC. XII. Sira 7, IA. 1919, p. 2n.

evidenced by an inscription dated 1127 A.D., found at Chebrolu in the Bapatla taluk of the Guntur district, which mentions Matsāmaṇḍalesvara Nambaya, the ruler of the Shatsahasra country, situated to the south of the Kṛishnā, as a subordinate of Vikrama-chola. (13)

Another inscription, also coming from the same area, and dated in 1135 A.D. shows that the Velanāṇḍu chief Gōṅka II, acknowledged the suzerainty of the Chola king.

(14) Two inscriptions of Someśvara at Draksharam, one of them dated in Ś 1054 (1131-32), and the other in regnal year 5, and two at Bhimavaram, one of them dated in regnal year 9, indicate that the Chālukyas retained their hold over the northern part of the Vengi province till about (1135 A.D.) (15) An inscription of Anantavarman Choda-

Gaṅga of Kalinga dated 1128 A.D. found at Draksharam, (16) suggests that he may also have tried to extend his

possession towards the Godavari at the expense of the Chālukyas at the very beginning of Someśvara's reign, but apparently did not attain any permanent success. The Chellur plates, dated Ś 1056 (Ś 1065) ^{show that the} ~~SHOW THAT THE~~

Godavari district was finally ~~the~~ conquered by the Cholas either during the reign of Someśvara III or his successor Jagadekamalla II. (17)

(13) IMI. II. Gt. 92; HSI. p. 100. (14) IMI. II. Gt. 112.
 (15) SII. IV. Nos. 1253, 1309; V. Nos. 68, 88. (16) IMI. II. Gd. 217.
 (17) IMI. II. Gd. 48B; Kielhorn, inscriptions of south India, No. 574. The date given in the inscription is irregular; for Ś 1065 it regularly corresponds to 24th March, 1143 A.D.

Far more serious than the loss suffered in Veṅgi were the renewed incursions of Vishnuvardhana. In 1130 A.D. the Hoysala king besieged Hangal and beheaded the Kadamba Taila II (18). Inscriptions dated 1132 and 1134 A.D. claim that he exercised control over Nolambavādi, Banavāsi and Hangal. (19) Another inscription dated 1136 A.D. tells us that he destroyed root and branch Māsana, wrote down Banavāse 12000 in his Kadita or account book, pursued Jayakesi (Jayakesi II of Goa), and gained possession of Palasige 12000 and (Hayve?) 500. (20) A second inscription of 1136 A.D. describes Vishnuvardhana as the master of the territory south of the Kṛishnā. (21) An inscription of 1137 A.D. mentions Bankāpura in the Dharwar district, as a royal city of the Hoysalas. (22) In 1138 he set out on a military expedition, crossed the Tungabhadra, marched on Banavāsinād, and laid siege to the fortress of Hangal. (23) In 1140, 1143 and 1152 we again find him ruling from Bankāpura. (24) The above statements are contained in Hoysala records, but their authenticity is borne out by two Kadamba and one Sinda epigraphs. On the Kadamba side we find in an inscription dated 1134 A.D. that a certain Mahādeva fought with the Hoysala Bittideva on

(18) Moraes, Kadamba-kula, pp. 128-29.

(19) DKD. 499; EC. XII. Gb. 34.

(21) EC. V. BI. 93.

(23) EC. V. BI. 202.

(20) EC. V. Belur 17.

(22) EC. V. Ar. 144.

(24) EC. V. Ar. 18; VI. Kd. 99; v. Ar.

52. For additional details regarding Vishnuvardhana's conquests, see also DKD. 495ff; Rice, Mysore and Coorg, pp. 99ff.

behalf of Mallikārjuna (1132-45), the second son of Taila II. (25) The second record, dated 1135 A.D. refers to the death of a hero in a fight against Hoysaladeva, who besieged the fort of Panungal (Hāngal) when Mallikārjuna was ruling Panungal 500. (26) The Sinda inscription tells us that Permādi I, son of Achugi II, put to flight Hoysala, who ruled with severity the countries of Chengiri, Chera, Chola, Malaya, Maie, the seven Tulus, Kolla, Paluva, Kongu, Nolambavādi, Banavāsi, Kadamvale and Hayve. (27) ~~Recounting the exploits of~~ Our evidences indicate that Vishnuvardhana made repeated attempts to bring the territories ruled by the Kadambas under his own sway, and at times succeeded in pushing the frontier of his own domain at least as far north as Baṅkāpura in the Dharwar district. A Balagamve inscription informs us that in 1129 A.D. Someśvara, with the intention of making an expedition in all directions, came to the south, and pitched his camp at Hulluniya-tīrtha at the confluence of the Varadā in the Banavāsinād. (28) It was probably aimed against the Hoysala chief. But Someśvara does not appear to have attained any permanent success over his powerful feudatory, who continued to pay only lip-service

(25) ASI. 1930, p. 174 (26) *ibid.*
 (27) JBBRAS. XI. 270; DKD. 499.
 (28) EC. VII. SK. 100; MAS. 1936, p. 174.

to the Chālukya emperor in his records, and at the same time carried on his aggressive designs.

On the eastern frontier the Kākatīyas also seem to have become very restive. Prola II, who succeeded his father Beta II in or before 1117 A.D. (29), and appears to have had a long reign, is represented in an inscription of his son to have captured in battle king Taila, "the crest jewel of the Chālukyas"; made captive, ^{and then released Govinda-dandesa; conquered} and then reinstated Choḍōdaya; beat Guṇḍa, the chief of Mantrakūta and put to flight Jagaddeva who came with his feudatories and besieged the city of Anumakonda. (30) In the above list Govinda-dandesa has been identified with the nephew of Anantapāla, both of whom were as we have seen loyal officers of Vikramāditya VI, and placed by that monarch at the end of his reign in charge of the newly conquered province of Vengī. Jagaddeva has been identified with the homonymous Sāntara chief. But he is in all probability the same as the Paramāra Jagaddeva. It is possible that some of the successes of Prola II were achieved during the reign of Somēśvara III.

The Nimbargi inscription mentions Bharmatadevi as the senior queen of the king. (31)

(29) EI. IX. 256f.

(30) IA. XI. 12f.

(31) Elliot, I. 446.

IV Jagadekamalla II.

Somesvara III's son and successor

Jagadekamalla II, also called Perma-Jagadekamalla, had the distinctive epithet Pratāpachakravartin. An inscription dated 1143 A.D. informs us that he drove away the Chola king in alarm, attacked the Hoysala and gained great fame by capturing his elephants. (32) Several other records refer in general terms to his victories over the Gurjara, Lāta, Mālava, Kalinga, Chola and Pallava. (33) A record of the time of Taila II says that he slew the generals of the hostile Chola and Gurjara kings. (34) The king's minister Kesirāja is said to have defeated the Cholas, Lālas and Gurjaras, and got presents from the Mālava, Kalinga and Cholika monarchs. (35)

If the actual date of the Chellur plates, referred to in connection with Somesvara III, is Ś 1065 or 1143 A.D., as Kielhorn thinks it is, (36), then it is quite possible that the Chālukyas and the Cholas came into conflict with each other during the reign of Jagadekamalla for the possession of the Godavari district. But in this case the victory went to the Cholas rather than to the Chālukyas. The Gurjara contemporaries of Jagadekamalla were Jayasimha-Siddharāja and Kumārapāla. In the Sukṛita-kīrti-kallolinī there is a verse which gives

(32) EC. XI. Dg. 85.

(33) EC. VII. sk. 108, 123; XI. Dg. 35, 43

(34) EC. VIII. sb. 277.

(35) EI. XVI. 44f.

(36) Kielhorn, List of South Indian inscriptions, No. 574.

a long list of Kumārapāla's conquests all over India, and it includes a victory of the Gurjara king over the Karnātas. (37) But it is extremely doubtful if we can accept this evidence in support of a Chālukya-Gurjara contest at this time. The claim of Jagadekamalla's victories over Mālava, Lāta, Kalinga and Pallava rulers cannot also be verified from other sources. On the other hand, Jagadekamalla may have actually gained a victory over the Hoysalas about 1143 A.D. This is also borne out by a Sinda inscription dated 1144 A.D. which states that the king's feudatory Permādi I "vanquished Kulasekhara, gloriously besieged Chatra and took his head with a sword, alarmed and pursued Jayakesi (II), seized the royal power of Poysala, who was the foremost of the fierce rulers of the earth, and acquired the reputation of being himself proof against all reverses". The record further claims that the Sinda chief went "to the mountain passes of the Marauder Bittiga", plundered him, besieged Dorasamudra, and pursuing him took the city of Belupura, i.e. Belur. He again drove him before his sword, arrived at the mountain-pass of Vāhadi and gained great fame. Finally he pursued and seized in war the friends of the kings who had joined,

(37) AHNI. II. 986n.
 (38) JBBRAS. XI. P. 244.

Bittiga in the work of killing and brought them as prisoners. (38) The description of Vishnuvardhana as "the foremost of the fierce rulers of the earth" is an interesting commentary on the power and status of the Hoysala king at this time. The concluding portion of the statement again shows that he was not operating alone, but had under his flag several other chieftains. It is not impossible that he forced Kulasekhara, Chatṭa and Jayakesi II to fight on his side. The Sinda inscription no doubt leaves the impression that Vishnuvardhana suffered a crushing defeat. But the fact that he was ruling at Baṅkāpura in 1143 and 1152 A.D. tells another tale. (39)

An epigraph from Ganajur in the Haveri taluk records the death of a hero in a fight when Mallikārjuna besieged Lokkigundi. (40) This shows that the Kadambas of Hangal also adopted an aggressive attitude during this reign. ~~It probably happened some time before 1140 A.D. when we find the king leading an expedition to Lokkigundi, obviously in order to relieve the town. (41)~~ The Pāndyas of Uchchangi, however, remained still loyal, and an inscription of 1145 A.D. states that Vīra-Pāṇḍya subdued Male and gave it to the ornament of the Chālukyas, namely, Jagadekamalla. (42)

Like his father Jagadekamalla also seems to

(38) JBBRAS. XI. p. 244.

(40) Bk. 45 of 1933.

(42) EC. XI. Dg. 168.

(39) see above under Someśvara III

(41) EC. VII. Sh. 37

have attained some distinction as a writer. He is said to have produced a book called Saṅgītamuktāvalī in five chapters. (43)

V. Taila III

Jagadekamalla II was followed on the throne by his brother Taila III. He had the *Giruda Trailokyamalla*, and also probably that of *Tribhuvanamalla*. (44) An inscription from the Sorab taluk in Mysore styles him *Vikrama-Nūrmadi-Taila*. (45) In addition, the king also assumed the distinctive title *Chālukya-chakravarti*.

Recounting the achievements of Taila III, an inscription from Abbābur says that "the Chōlika came against him in war, but unwillingly paid tribute; the Mālava was frightened and fled away, the Gurjara saved himself by giving more than the Chōla had given." (46) This statement appears to be a mere conventional *prasasti*, and possibly has no substance in it.

As far as we can judge from the scanty data at our disposal, the prestige of the Chālukya kingship reached its lowest ebb during the reign of this monarch. Some time before 1158 A.D. (47) he suffered a disastrous

(43) JAHRS. III. 201. R.K. Kavi seems to identify the writer of the work with Jagadekamalla-Jayasimha. But the distinctive epithet *Pratāpachakravarti* clearly shows that we must identify him with Jagadekamalla II.

(44) See IA. 1919. p. 4; ASI. 1934, p. 241.

(45) EC. VIII. Sb. 524. cf. also the Barangi inscription (Elliot. I. p. 539 b, lines 11-12) Where the king is described as *Nūrmadi-Tailan atarkya* (?) - *Vikrama*. See also BK. 54 of 1927; SII. IX. I. No. 268. (46) EI. V. 234. (47) contd.

defeat at the hands of the Kākatiya chief Prola II.

We are told that the latter captured in a moment in battle Tailapa, the crest jewel of the Chālukyas, but because of his devotion and love set him free instantly.

(48) The cause of this conflict is not stated in our record. But we may perhaps presume that after his initial successes against Govinda and Jagaddeva, Prola II made further attempts to extend his influence over the eastern districts of the Nizam's dominions. The emperor seems to have personally led an expedition against his ambitious feudatory to bring him to book, but himself fell a prisoner in the hands of his adversary. The event is important as showing not only how easily the authority of the sovereign could be flouted at this time, but also the degree of weakness that had overtaken the imperial forces. (49)

Meanwhile a much more fateful situation for the continuance of the western Chālukya rule was fast developing nearer home. This was designed and shaped by the ambition and intrigues of Bijjala Kalachurya, who finally usurped the throne. The rise of the Kalachurya family is obscure. Bijjala's father Permādi is styled a mahamāndalesvara, and in 1128 A.D. was administering the

(47) This is the earliest known date of Prola II's successor Rudra (SII. IV. No. 1107; JAHS. V. 234).

(48) IA. XI. 17. 5

(49) DKD. 470.

Dr. Barnett suggests to me that Tailapa may have been released by Prola on the definite understanding that the emperor will wink at his activities.

the Tardavādi province as a subordinate of Somesvara III. (50) Inscriptions dated in the tenth year of Jagadekamalla (1147 A.D.) show that Bijjala succeeded his father in the same post, and had the same official designation. (51) The process by which he elevated himself from the position of a mere feudatory official to independent sovereignty has been very ably described by Fleet. (52) We may however note the following points in this connection. There is no warrantable evidence to show that the Kalachurya chief got control of the entire Chālukya army in about 1150 A.D. (53) But epithets like Kshonipāla and Bhūpālaka, found applied to Bijjala in the Bijapur inscriptions of the third and fifth years of Taila III, may imply that he enjoyed some sort of precedence among other state functionaries even at the very beginning of the latter's reign. These records however specifically refer to him as a subordinate of the Chālukya king. (54) One of the earliest steps that Bijjala took to advance his cause appears to have been to secure the support of Mahādevarasa, the royal officer in charge of the Banavāsi and the Purigere provinces. Till 1154 A.D.

(50) ASI. 1929-30, p. 175; BK. 96 of 1930.

(51) ~~Dr. Barnett suggests to me that Prola may have released Taila on the definite understanding that he will wink at the former's activities.~~ (52) DKD. 470-75.

(53) This view was based upon the translation of a Harikar inscription given by Rice in his Mysore Inscription, p. 57. Fleet doubted it (DKD. 472n). See now the revised text and translation in EC. XI. Dg. 35, where the passage in question implies altogether a different meaning. Fleet assigns the record to about 1150 A.D. & Rice to c. 1160. Available dates of Kasapayya show that Rice is correct in this respect. See below (54) BK. 124 of 1934; 130 of 1934.

we find the latter recognising only the authority of Taila. (55) But an inscription dated in December 1155 A.D. represents him as a subordinate of the Kalachurya, and further describes him as "the embodiment of the mind of Bijjala". The actual position held by Bijjala about this time is indicated by the statement, found in the same record, that "he was governing all the countries". (56) Mahādeva was succeeded in his post by Kesirāja, for whom we have the dates 1157-1159 A.D. (57); and the latter again was followed by Kasapayyanāyaka, for whom we have the dates 1159, 1162, 1168 etc. (58) These officers also owned special allegiance to Bijjala. Others followed suit. An inscription from Kukkanur in the Nizam's dominions, dated 1156 A.D. mentions a certain Revaleyanāyaka, as a mahāpradhāna of Bijjala. (59) In 1158 A.D. mahāmandalesvara Nanniya-Gaṅga-Permānadi was ruling Edevatte 70, Ballave 70, Narivelige and the agrahāra of Bēgūr as a subordinate of Bijjala. (60) An inscription dated 1159 A.D. informs us that his subordinate Kesirāja conquered Sankanamale, Santalige, (?)

(1) Tagarachchemalla's territory, Gāvātūr, Mogalanād, Sirivūr, the Vanavāsi hill forts, Kandarate, Hayve, the celebrated Gutti and Hettila. (61) The investment of Gutti, undoubtedly

(55) Elliot. I. 533; BK. 78 of 1933; EI. XVI. 43; V. 234; EC. VIII. Sb. 510.

(56) EC. VII. SK. 104; DKD. 473. (57) BK. 103 of 1933; EC. VII. SK.

123, 185. (58) EC. VIII. SB. 328; VII. SK. 102; XI. DG. 42; VII. SK.

92 etc. (59) DKD. 460.

(60) EC. VII. SK. 18 (61) EC. VII. SK. 123; cf. also EC. XI. DG. 35.

the highly stronghold of the same name in the Anantapur district, by Bijjala's men is specially referred to in another inscription of 1159 A.D. which says that they were opposed by the Kadamba Kumāra Kīrtideva's officers.

(62) The evidence we have cited so far shows that by the end of the sixth decade of the twelfth century Bijjala's authority was recognised over practically the whole of the Bijapur, Dharwar and North Kanara districts, the adjacent parts of the Gulbarga and the Raichur districts, a large part of the Shimoga district, and apparently also the Bellary district and a section of the Anantapur district.

(63)

The change in the power and personal position of Bijjala found expression in the introduction of a reckoning of his own, the first year of which fell in 1156-57 A.D., and in the assumption of the *Biruda Tribhuvanamalla*, and the designations *Bhujabala-chakravarti* and *Kalachurya-Chakravarti*. In several records he is also called a *mahārājādhirāja*. (64) There cannot be any doubt, as Fleet points out, that Bijjala virtually declared his independence in 1156 A.D. But he did not assume full imperial titles till 1162 A.D. In the interval the myth of the Chālukya suzerainty was retained. This is evidenced by the mention

(62) EO.VIII.3b.416.

(63) Parts of the last two districts were included in the Nolambavādi $\text{₹}32000$. An inscription of 1162 A.D. shows that the ruler of this region, Vira-Pāndya, accepted the suzerainty of Bijjala (SII.IX.I.No.293)

(64) DKD.474.

of Taila as the reigning sovereign, as also the use of his regnal years, in several records of Bijjala's own subordinates inscribed after 1156 A.D. (65) It is also interesting to note that during this period of extreme decadence of the Chālukya power Taila still appears as the paramount ruler in a number of Hoysala records. (66) The Pattadakal inscription of the Sinda mahāmandalesvara Chāmunda II, dated in May-June 1163 A.D., shows that he also recognised the authority of Taila till the latter's death. (67) But the effective control of the Chālukya king does not seem to have extended much beyond the home province with its centre at Kalyāni. An inscription at Harasur in the Nizam's dominions, however, mentions that he was ruling at Jayantīpura, identified by Fleet with Banavāsi in North Kanara, in April 1161 A.D. (68) The lease of Taila's rule came to an end very soon after this. Some time before the 14th of May 1162 A.D. Bijjala occupied Kalyāni and was ruling from that place on the same date. (69) About this time he also must have assumed full imperial titles, although the earliest available record in which these are found is dated in December 1162 A.D. (70) A Sinda inscription at Benachimatti, dated 1165-66 A.D., says

(65) DKD. 473; EC. VII. SK. 123, 185; VIII. SB. 328.

(66) EC. V. AK. 117; Ch. 228, 246; VI. Ka. 72; XII. Tp. 61, Ck. 32 etc.

(67) DKD. 460, 462.

(68) DKD. 461.

(69) Bk. 14 of 1938.

(70) DKD. 475.

that Bijjala seized "the braid of the hair of the handsome and clever lady, the land of Kuntala, by resorting to strength of arms". (71) This statement implies that, before the final stage in the long process of usurpation of the Chālukya sovereignty by Bijjala was reached, he came into direct clash with Taila III. He also seems to have received material assistance from the Silāhāra prince Vijayāditya of Karanāṭaka on this occasion. (72) A saying attributed to Basava, the famous Vīrasaiva saint, refers to the destruction of Kalyāṇi and the extinction of the rule of a Chālukya king because of the offence he gave to a Jangama. (73) The king should perhaps be identified with Taila, and if the saying is genuine, then his fall may have been precipitated by some religious quarrel. The Annakonda inscription of Rudradeva shows that the Chālukya king died a natural death, but how or where he spent the last few months of his life is not known at present. (74)

(71) EI. XX. 118f.

(72) DKD. 475.

(73) Sources of Karnataka History, vol. I. p. 199.

(74) R. G. Bhandarkar says that in 1157 A.D. Taila left Kalyāṇi and fled to Annigere in the Dharwar district, and Bijjala, after assuming imperial titles, marched against him in 1084 (c. 1162 A.D.). Taila then retired to Banavāsi (AHD. 2nd. ed. 157) But epigraphic evidence proves that Banavāsi region was administered by Bijjala's own officials since 1155 A.D. (see above).

VI. Someśvara IV.

The paramount rule of the Kalachuryas lasted for about two decades. But, as R.G.Bhandarkar points out, it suffered greatly from internal dissensions which resulted from a quarrel that broke out between Bijjala, a devout follower of Jainism, and Basava, the founder of the Lingāyat sect; and ultimately led to the assassination of the former. (75) The whole episode shows that the Lingāyats made a desperate attempt to seize the political power in the state, and were temporarily crushed by the immediate successor of Bijjala. But the confusion thus created seems to have afforded an opportunity to the adherents of the old ruling house to lay plans for the restoration of Someśvara IV, the son of Taila III, to his ancestral throne, with the help of the Lingāyats. This view receives support from the fact that Someśvara extended his patronage to the Vīra-Naivas and persecuted the Jainas. (76) We may also note that one of the king's feudatories, Mahāmandalesvara Virūparasa, claims that he was "a forest fire of Jaina religion, a destroyer of Baddha religion and establisher of the Śivalinga-simhāsana". (77) The leadership of the anti-Kalachurya movements was assumed

(75) EHD. 2nd. ed. p. 157.

(76) See the Abbalur inscription assigned by Fleet to c.1200 A.D. (EI.V.258-59); also ASI.1928-29, p.117 for an inscription which refers to the persecution of the Jainas.

(77) ASI.1929-30, p.117.

by the mahāpradhāna senādhipati dandanāyaka Brahma, who is mentioned as an officer of the Kalachurya king Sōvideva in an inscription of 1175 A.D. Contemporary records refer to him as "the establisher of the Chālukya sovereignty" and "the fire of death to the Kalachuryas".

(78) Fleet has drawn attention to a piece of evidence which shows that he was acting in opposition to his father, the dandanāyaka Kāvana, who is described as "the upraiser of the Kalachurya sovereignty", and was the commander-in-chief of all the forces of the Kalachurya Saṅkama in 1179 A.D. (79) The movement for the restoration of the Chālukya sovereignty attained partial success by the year 1181 A.D., when the authority of Somesvara IV was acknowledged by the Sinda chief of the Ballakundavishaya (80) The concluding stage was reached only after the 18th October 1183 A.D., when the Kalachurya Singhana was still ruling with full paramount titles. (81) An inscription dated S 1107 (1185 A.D.) shows that he eventually accepted the position of a feudatory under the Chālukyas. (82)

Somesvara IV had the Virūḍa Tribhuvanamalla, and is also referred to as Chālukya-Chakravarti, Chālukya-pratāpa-chakravarti and Vīra-nārāyaṇa. (83) His inscriptions

(78) DKD. 464.

(79) DKD. 464-65.

(80) EI. XIV. 265f. Fleet points out that the records of Somesvara indicate that he established himself first at Annegere in the Dharwar district.

(81) DKD. 465.

(82) DKD. 489.

(83) IA. 1919. p. 5.

have been found in the Bijapur, Dharwar, Bellary, Shimoga and Chitaldrug districts, and his suzerainty was acknowledge among others by the Kadambas of Goa, Hangal and Banavasi, the Guttas of Guttavolal, the Pāndyas of Nolambavādi and the feudatory chiefs of Sindavādi. (84) In 1185 A.D. the king was encamped at Manejara-tīrtha on the bank of the Godāvarī. (85) This gives us the clue to the northern boundary of his kingdom.

For the distinguished services rendered by him Brahma was appointed to the highest post in the state next to the king. In some records he is simply called the mantrin and dandanāyaka. But the extensive power wielded by him is indicated by the statement of the Bammankatti inscription that he was governing all the countries in the Kuntaladesa. (86) An inscription from Sogi describes Brahma as "the venomous serpent of the chiefs of Tondamandala" and "the thunderbolt to the strong hill-fortresses of the Hoysalas". (87) On the other hand, a Gadag inscription dated 1192 A.D. tells us that the Hoysala VīraBallāla II defeated and took the sovereignty from the famous general Brahma. (88) The subsequent event shows that the boast of the Hoysala king was fully justified. In the meantime the Yādavas of Devagiri also had begun to

(84) see DKD. 465-6; IA. 119, p. 5; Bk. 22 of 1927, 86 of 1929, 38 of 1934.

(85) ASI. 1930, p. 171.

(ASI, 1937, pp. 99-100.

(86) Bk. 38 of 1934.

(87) SII. IX. I. No. 287.

(88) IA. II. 299; DKD. 464n.

to make encroachments upon the Chālukya territory from the north, and inscriptions at Muttage in the Bijapur district and at Annigere in the Dharwar district prove that their king Bhīllama occupied a considerable portion of the Chālukya kingdom some time before 1189 A.D. (89) Next year (1190 A.D.) the Yādavas and the Hoysalas came into clash with each other, and Vīra-Ballāla II claims that he ploughed up the region from Soratur to Belvola, and manured it with the bodies of the Sevuna army. (90) Another inscription dated 1192 describes Vīra-Ballāla with full imperial titles and reports that he routed the army of Bhīllama at the battle of Lokkigundi. (91) Finally a record of 1195 A.D. reports that the Hoysala king destroyed the Sevuna army with the city named Vīravarddhana, and having giving back Lokkigundi, was ruling the kingdom as far as Kalyāni. (92)

It appears that with the defeat and discomfiture of Brahma at the hands of the Hoysala king Someśvara IV lost the chief support of his rule, and after the occupation of the bulk of his territory by the rival forces of the Yādavas and the Hoysalas he gradually retired towards the West. His authority, perhaps only nominal, was acknowledged by the Kadamba chief, Kāmadeva of Hangal till 1189 A.D., and

(89) DKD. 466.

(91) MAS. 1913, p. 37.

(90) EC. V. Chan. 179.

(92) MAS. 1908, p. 11.

Jayakesi III of Goa, till 1198 A.D. (93) The last known date of Somesvara IV is 1200 A.D. (94) With him we reach the final end of the sovereign rule of the Western Chālukyas. After this several petty chiefs of the Chālukya family continued to rule in certain parts of the Konkana till the middle of the thirteenth century. (95)

(93) DKD. 465; ASI. 1937, p. 99-100.

(94) IA. 1919, p. 5.

(95) DKD. 466-67. A Chālukya Bhuvallabha Rāya-Permādi with the dates 1160, 1169 and 1171 A.D. is mentioned in a number of inscriptions, coming from the Tumkur district in Mysore, as ruling the seven and a half-lakh country from Kalyāṇi (EC. XII. Ek. 21, 43, MAS, 1910, p. 30). He cannot be fit in the known genealogy of the Chālukya family. It should also be noted that the earliest year falls in the reign of Taila III, and others during the period of the Kalachurya ~~invasion~~ ^{invasion}. We very much doubt whether he was a historical figure.

The Later Chālukya Genealogy

Vijayāditya (696-733/34)

Dhīmaparākrama

Kirttivarman III

Taila I

Vikramāditya III

Dhīma II

Ayyana I

Vikramāditya IV

Taila II 973-97

Satyāśraya 999-1008

Draṇḍavarman
or Vasovarmān

Mahādevī (?) = Irivā-Nolambādhirāja

Vikramāditya V
1009-14Ayyana II
1015(?)Jayasīma
1015-42Akkādovī-
a Kadamba
princeSomesvara I
1042-68Avvalladevi =
Vadava Dhīllama IIISomesvara II
1068-76Vikramāditya VI
1076-1127Jayasīma Viśhnavardhana-
Vijayāditya

Mallikārjuna

Somesvara III
1126-39

Jayakarna

Malladevi =
Jayakesi II of
GoḍJagadokamalla II
1137-1151Taila III
1150-63Somesvara IV
1161-1200

CHAPTER XI.

ASPECTS OF WESTERN CHĀLUKYA ADMINISTRATION

The theoretical principles of ancient Indian state-craft are found embedded in a fairly large number of text-books on Dharma or Law and Nīti or Polity, that have come down to us. It was undoubtedly the aim of every ruler and statesman to follow these precepts as far as possible. An inscription of the twelfth century claims that the Chālukyas reigned in so praiseworthy a manner as to illustrate well the observance of the Code of Manu. (1) Among the earliest rulers of the race Pulakesin I is specially mentioned as being conversant with the work of the famous law-giver. (2) In later times Taila II gets the epithet Manu-mārg-āgrani-Chakravar-titilakam. (3) Vijñāneśvara, as we have seen, wrote his famous commentary - the Mitāksharā- on the Yājñavalkya-smṛiti under the auspices of Vikramāditya VI. His son Someśvara's Mānasollāsa also contains several sections on the Rājadharmā (first four vimsatis). But neither the Manusmṛiti, nor the Yājñavalkya-smṛiti with its commentary, nor the work of Someśvara can serve for a correct description of the political institutions of the western Chālukyas. For

(1) EI.V.16,20.

(2) The Nerur Plates of Mangalesa. IA.VII

(3) EI.XVI.28.

in actual practice the course recommended by them had to be largely modified in accordance with the socio-political progress of the country concerned, and various other local and governmental needs. Under the circumstances contemporary inscriptions, which form the chief source of the political history of the Chālukyas, must also constitute the actual basis for our study of the structure and working of their administrative system.

I The King

The head of the state was the king. In the early records of the Chālukyas he is described as Satyāsraya (the asylum of truth), Vallabha (the Beloved), Vallabhesvara and Vallabhendra (the chief among the Beloved), Srivallabha (the Beloved of the Goddess of Fortune), Prithivivallabha (the Beloved of the Earth), Sriprithivivallabha (the Beloved of the Goddess of Fortune and of the Earth) and Mahārāja (the great king). (4) In addition to these Pulakesin II assumed the epithet Paramesvara or the supreme lord after defeating Harshavardhana, and in his case the title was fully justified by his position and achievements. (5)

(4) In the Nerur Plates Maṅgaleśa is also called Lokavallabha or the Beloved of the people.

(5) According to the Lohanera Plates and the spurious Hasur Plates Pulakesin II had the Giruda Raṇavikrama (see Khare, Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan, I.4ff; IA.VIII 96; EG.XI.Gb.48) His grandfather Pulakesin I had the same epithet. His father and uncle had the appellations Puru-Raṇaparākrama and Uru-Raṇavikrānta or Raṇavikrānta respectively. His son Vikramāditya I was called Raṇarasika. Two other Giruda of the latter were Anivarita and Rajamalla (see Kielhorn, List of South Indian Inscriptions, p. 5n).

His successors styled themselves as Mahārājādhirāja (the great king of kings) instead of the simple mahārāja, and during their time the full imperial titles were fixed as Satyāśraya Śrīprithivīvallabha Mahārājādhirāja Paramesvara Bhattāraka or Bhatāra (the worshipful one) (6) Vinayāditya was also called Rājāśraya (the asylum of kings), and his son Vijayāditya was styled Samastabhuvanāśraya (the asylum of the whole earth). (7) In assuming regal titles the later Chālukyas followed the early tradition with slight modifications. In their records they are usually referred to as Samastabhuvanāśraya Śrīprithivīvallabha Mahārājādhirāja Paramesvara Satyāśrayakulatīlaka (the foremost in the family of Satyāśraya) and Chālukyābharana (the ornament of the Chālukyas). The epithet Śrīprithivīvallabha appears to be an interesting one. Attention has been drawn in this connection to the fact that it is found to be one of the standing epithets of the great god Vishnu, and the Chālukya kings by assuming it probably regarded themselves as his counterpart on the earth in the aspect of the Preserver, and it also perhaps emphasized the divine character of the kingship which came very much into vogue during the Gupta and the post-Gupta periods. (8) Among the external insignias of the Chālukya kings the most important was the Varāha-lāñchhana. Vinayāditya, after his victory over a northern king, added to this the Pālidhvaja, the signs of the rivers Gangā and

(6) In one instance we have the use of the epithet Parama-bhattāraka (DKD. 370).

(7) IA. XIX. 142f; IX. 126f; DKD. 368, 370.

Vijayāditya seems to have been also called as Niravadya (see the Pattadakal inscription of Kirtivarman II. EI. III. 1ff).

(8) Advanced History of India, p. 191-92.

Yamunā, the ~~dhakka~~dhakka-drum etc.

Writers of manuals on law and polity lay great emphasis upon the education, moral discipline and a large number of good qualities that an ideal king should possess. Thus for example, Yājñavalkya says that "the ruler of men should be of very enterprising spirit (mahotsāha), vast aims (sthūlalakṣha), grateful (Kṛitajña), serving elders (vṛiddhasevaka), cultivated (vinīta), endowed with equanimity (satvasampanna), of good family (kulīn), truthful in speech (satyakāk), pure (śuci), not verbose (adīrghasūtra), strong of memory (smṛitimān), not petty-minded and not carping (akshudra, aparusha); religious (dhārmika) without vices (avyasana), intelligent (prājña), brave (śūra) knower of secrets, (rahasyaavid), guarding against his own weak points (svaraṇḍhragoptā), versed in the science of philosophy (Ānvīkshikī), and similarly also in the rules of punishment and in polity, (dandanītyām), and in economics (vārttā), and also in the three-fold science called Trayī (Rik, Yajus, Sāman) so should be the ruler of men". (9) Speaking about the same subject Kaṭilya lays down that a king should be of "a noble family (mahākulīna), godly spirited (daivabuddhisattvasampanna), consulting the aged (Vṛiddhadarsī), virtuous

(9) Yājñavalkya-smṛiti, I. 309-11; also cf. The English Translation by J. R. Gharpure, vol. II. part. II. p. 570. See also Manu, VII, verses 26, 37-39, 43, 45 etc.

(dhārmika), truthful and not failing in his promise (satyavāgy^avisamvādaka), grateful (Kṛitajña), taking broad views (sthūlalakṣha), highly enterprising (mahotsāha), not verbose (adīrghasūtra), having powerful feudatories (śakya-sāmanta), firm in mind (dṛidhabuddhi), having not a small council of ministers (akṣudraparishatka), and desirous of self-discipline (vinayakāma)". He should be desirous of learning, studying, understanding of what is studied and retaining it, reflecting, discussing, ~~so~~ and devoted to the principles accepted after discussion. He should study Ārvīkshikī, Trayī (which also includes Itihāsa and Purāṇa), Vārtā and Dandanīti. (10) The descriptions of the personal accomplishments of Raṇarāja, Pulakeśin I, Kīrtivarman IX, Maṅgaleśa and Pulakeśin II, found in a number of early Chālukya inscriptions, ~~so~~ which we have referred to in their relevant contexts, show that many of the qualities befitting an ideal king set forth above were quite well-known to the composers of these records, and ^{may} may have also inspired the afore-said kings and their descendants in their conduct and action. (11)

The principal duties enjoined upon the king by the political theorists are the protection of subjects

(10) Kautilya, VI.I; I.I. cf. also Mānasollāsa, II.I.2-7.

(11) cf: the Mahākūṭa Inscription of 578 A.D. (IA.XIX.7ff); Godachi Plates of Kīrtivarman (JUB.1937, pp.165ff); Nerur Plates of Maṅgaleśa (IA.VII.161f); Hyderabad Plates of Pulakeśin II (IA.VI.72b); the Aihole inscription (EI.VI.1ff) etc. See also above pp.33-34, 45, 53-54, 91.

from internal and external dangers, punishment of the wicked and the upholding of the rules of castes and stages. (12) The same idea is found in Chālukya inscription. The Godachi Plates records that Kīrtivarman II gratified all the elements of the state by protecting them according to the rules applicable to the castes and stages (Varnnāśramadharmā-nyāya-paripālan-ānurañjita-sarvva-prakritih). (13) The Chiplun grants specially refer to the fact that Pulakesin II punished the wicked, honoured the learned and extended favours to servants (of the state). (14) In the Kautham plates Satyāśraya is described as a supporter of all castes, and his successor Vikramāditya III V is said to have stood for the maintenance of the castes and stages of life. (15) A Nagai inscription says that during the reign of Someśvara I the four castes did not abandon their respective rules of conduct. (16) Attention may also be drawn in this connection to a rather interesting passage which is found in the Balambiḍa inscription of the time of the same king. We are told that "while he was ruling the earth, confusion or overlapping of castes (and letters-varṇa)

(12) cf. Manu. VII. 35, 144; Māhāvalkya. I. 335; Keat.

(13) JUB, 1937, p. 165ff.

(14) EI. III. 50ff.

(15) IA. XVI. 21f.

(16) Hy. Arch. se. No. 8, p. 11, 19.

was never witnessed except among the uncultured Kayastha people (scribes); the word taskara (thief) was indicative of its own form (not a person), and remained only among the grammarians since its meaning was nowhere applicable; upasargas (calamities and particles of words) were never seen except in samasas and the commentary on the taddhitānta words". (17)

In later Chālukya inscriptions also we meet with the statement that the king or his feudatory is governing with the punishment of the wicked and the protection of the good (dushta-nigraha-viśiṣṭa-pratipālanaśālin). (18)

The king was also called upon to look to the material and moral well-being of his subjects in general, and to support students, learned Brāhmanas and sacrificers in particular. (19) The numerous grants of land and taxes and other items made to the temples and Brāhmanas by the king, his feudatories and officials, with various conditions attached to them, clearly indicate that the Chālukya sovereign was not unmindful of this part of his duty. Indeed, the temples were not only houses for worshipping gods, but they were great centres of education and social and philanthropic activities (which included feeding and

(17) MAS. 1928, p. 74.

(18) DKD. 428n.

(19) Kautilya I. 19; II. I; Manu VII 821, 134; Yājñavalkya. I. 315, 323 etc.

and clothing of ascetics, brāhmanas, guests, students, and maintenance of water-sheds, ponds, wells and gardens etc) often subsidised at the expense of the state.

For a proper discharge of his functions every king was invested wide executive, judicial and legislative power during the period of our survey. He appointed his ministers and other high state dignitaries, he adjudicated upon cases specially brought for his hearing, and under special circumstances he even made laws (rājasāsana) which according to Kautilya ~~book~~ precedence over any other law or customs or usage in case of conflict. Nārada says that "whatever the king in pursuance of his function of protector, administrator and dispenser of charity may do is authorised."

(20) The Chālukya kings certainly were not excepted¹⁰² from to this general practice. The dependence of officers and feudatories on the sovereign in later times found expression in such description as tat-pāda-padmōpajīvi ("subsisting on his (king's) lotus feet") applied to the former in the inscriptions of the period. It also appears that to make known his decisions on important affairs of the state the early Chālukya kings used to issue royal proclamations (rāja-sāravita). (21)

(20) Kautilya, III. I. Nārada, XVIII. 21. I am indebted to Dr. Barnett for drawing my attention to these references.

(21) EI. XIV. 188ff; IA. VIII. 286; XIX. 144f. The Chiplun plates (EI. III. 50f) at the end invoke blessings for the writer, reader and hearers. This implies that land grants had also to be proclaimed. For interesting ceremony connected with land grants by Chola kings, see SII. III. 3, no. 205, pp. 429f. I am indebted to Dr. Barnett for these references.

Finally, we should note that the king was also a great war-leader, who was ever intent to fight and personally led the army into the battle-field and directed all its actions. In this respect also, his conduct received the approbation of the writers of *ka Rājadharmā*. The existence of a large number of petty states in the country, often entertaining hostile feelings against each other, elevated aggressive warfare into a legitimate profession for the members of the royal races. The mutual antagonism between the rival kings was fostered by local particularism which grew out of differences of races, languages, culture etc; and to these causes we should ^{perhaps} attribute the constant conflicts between the early Chālukyas and the Pallavas and Tamil states, and also between the later Chālukyas and the Gurjaras, Paramāras, Haihayas, and the Cholas. At the same time the use of such expressions as *Chatus-samudrōrmi-nivārita-yasah*, *pūrva-paśchima-samudra-tat-ōshit-āśva-senā-rajah-pata-vinśrmita-dig-vitānah*, *pūrvv-āpar-āmbu-nāthah*, *chatur-udadhi-mekhal-ōpārjita rājya-srī*, *tri-samudra-madhyavartī-bhuvana-maṇḍalādhisvarah*, *ambudhi-traya-nivārita-śāsanah* etc. found in early Chālukya records, (22) points to the currency of the Chakravartī ideal in the

(22) The Mahakūta ins. of 578 A.D., Aihole ins. of Ravikīrti; *tu* Lohanera Plates and Yekkeri ins. of Pulakesin II and the Jeguri plates of Vinayāditya.

court of Badami, and it may have inspired some of the kings of the early period notably Pulakesin II, in their warlike activities, and made them ambitious of building up a trans-Vindhya empire.

It is apparent that the Chālukya kings wielded enormous power. Yet their rule could not have been an unmitigated despotism. The fall of Mangalesa and Somesvara II illustrates the fate of kings who deviated from the right path or neglected the welfare of subjects.

The succession to the throne was hereditary, and was normally governed by the law of primogeniture. In the early Chālukya inscriptions we meet with the expression, priya-tanuja, priya-tanaya, priya-sūnū, priya-ātmaja and priya-putna to indicate the relation between the predecessor and the successor. Fleet thinks that this probably points to the existence of some sort of a custom of selection for succession to the throne by the father from amongst the princes. He specially draws attention to the case of Vikramāditya I, who is known to have been a younger son. (23) But it may be pointed out that Adityavarman, a brother of Vikramāditya I, also claims to have been a priya-tanaya (24), and as the same or

(23) DKD. 361 and note. (24) The Kurnul Plates of Adityavarman. JBBRAS. XVI. 223, 233.

similar expressions ~~are~~ found applied to every case without any exception from the time of Pulakesin I to that of Kirtivarman IX, when a son succeeded a father, it most probably did not carry any special significance with it. (25) Under special circumstances, however, there could have been exceptions to the general rule. Thus Mangalesa succeeded Kirtivarman IX to the exclusion of the latter's sons who were presumably minors. But the evidence of the Aihole inscription clearly indicates that the right of Pulakesin II to the throne of his father was specially protected, and by violating this Mangalesa lost his life. The accession of Vikramaditya I, to the exclusion of Chandraditya (who however may have resigned his claim to the throne) took place at a time of grave national calamity. Bilhana says that Somesvara I intended to nominate Vikramaditya VI as his successor, to the exclusion of Somesvara II, because of Vikramaditya's ability and proficiency in all the sciences; but the very fact that it did not actually materialise shows how strong was the claim of the eldest born to succeed to the throne of his ancestors. In the absence of a son the crown passed to a younger brother, or a younger brother's son, to the

(25) cf. the expression priyānuja applied to Vishnuvardhana I in eastern Chālukya grants.

exclusion of any daughter or daughters, as happened after the death of Satyāśraya of the later family.

II. The Yuvarāja

The practice of appointing a yuvarāja, apparently to help the king and to train him up in the work of administration, was also adhered to during our period. The post went either to the heir-apparent or to the heir-presumptive. The Aihole inscription implies that the quarrel between Maṅgaleśa and Pulakeśin II broke out when the question of appointing to the Yuvarājaship cropped up. (26) Among the early Chālukyas Kubja-Vishṇuwardhana, the brother of Pulakeśin II, Vijayāditya, Vikramāditya II and Kīrtivarman II are expressly mentioned as Yuvarājas. (27) In later times we find that Someśvara II was appointed yuvarāja when Vikramāditya VI refused the office. The latter selected his brother Jayasīmha to fill the same post. The statements in the Nerur plates of Vijayāditya and the Vakkleri plates of Kīrtivarman II that they were trained in the sciences of arms in their childhood show that the would-be king had to be specially an adept in military matters. It may also be presumed that he, together with other princes, were

(26) EI.VI.9n.

(27) IA.XIX.303f; VI.88; EI.XIV.188f; V.200ff. etc.

trained in all the other lores recommended for their study in the Dharmaśāstras and the Arthaśāstras. The cases of Vishnuvardhana, Vikramāditya^{II}, Someśvara II and Jayasinha show that the Chālukya yuvarājas served as provincial governors. (28)

III The machinery and departments of the central government,

Paucity of information does not allow us to form any clear idea about the machinery of the central government during the early Chālukya period. The Godachi plates of Kirtivarman I, as we have seen, refer to the great Brāhmaṇa (mahā-brāhmaṇa) Vyāghrasvāmin, who was well-versed in various lores including the Nitīśāstra, and who is described as a Brīhaspati of those days (ādyakāla-Brīhaspati), as the bearer of the burden of the whole kingdom (rājya-sarvasva-dhurandhara). (29) This implies the existence of a post of something like a first minister of state at this time. In the early copper-plates we find reference to another official called the mahāsandhi-vigrahika, the great minister of peace and war, one of whose duties was to draw up the charters for land grants made by the king. A spurious Kurtkoti inscription, alleged to be of the time of Vikramāditya I,

(28) IA.XIX.303ff; EI.XIV.188f, and above under Someśvara I.
(29) see ante, p.52.

enumerates several other dignitaries like the *śreṣṭhī* (banker), *senāpati* (commander of the army), *sachiva* (minister), *netā* (leader?), ~~*parthivenika* (the royal army)~~ and *adhyakṣa* (superintendent). (30) We have also references to the preceptors (*guru*) of Vikramāditya I and Vinayāditya (31), but there is nothing to show that they took any important part in the administrative affairs of their royal disciples. Among the minor officials, mention is made in the early Chālukya records of the *Pratihāra* (door-keeper), *dūta* (envoy), *chāra* (spy), *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*. (32) The Bagumra plates of Nikumbha-Allaśakti refer to the *Choroddharanika* (thief-catcher) and the *dandapāsika* (policeman). (32a).

Under the later Chālukyas we find an elaborate and a complicated system of government at the centre. The king was apparently helped by a number of ministers, who deliberated with their master on the important affairs of the state. No reference is found to a *mantri-parāśad*, and ~~each~~ individual minister probably acted on his own responsibility. As to the number of royal councillors we cannot be altogether definite. Manu prescribes that the king should select seven or eight ministers. Somesvara III also approves the same number and says,

(30) IA.VII.217ff. (31) see the Talamanchi plates (EI. IX.98ff), Lakshmeshwar inscription (IA.VII.112) (32) cf. see the Goa plates (JBERRAS.X.365f) and Chiplun plates (EI.III.50f) of Pulakesin II; the Sanjan plates of Buddha-varaṇa (EI.XIV.144ff); the Mahākūṭa inscription (IA.XIX.7f). Regarding the significance of the terms *Chāṭa* and *bhaṭa*, see contd. (32a) contd.

anvayād āgatān śuddhān upaśhābhīh parīkṣhitān

sachivān sapta vāśhtau vā kurvīte matimān nripaḥ (33)

It is not impossible that the precept was actually followed by the rulers of his own family. It is also interesting to note in this connection that a Yewur inscription informs us that Jayasimha II entrusted a certain Koppa, who proved his uprightness in an unique manner under test (tannayad=ond-upadhā-visuddhigim) to the administration of his inexhaustible treasury. (34) But this method of selecting officials could not have been extensively used in a state where the offices tended to become hereditary.

In the Āsthānabhoga section of the Mānasollāsa Somesvara gives us an interesting glimpse into a royal court teeming with the members of the royal family, feudatories and state officials. (35) We cannot say with absolute certainty if it corresponded to the actual conditions obtaining in those days. But it is worth describing here. The centre of the court is the king himself. When he wishes to hold a darbar he should ask his pratihāra to issue an invitation to all to attend. In response to this first come the women of the harem, who occupy their

{32} contd. EI. IX. 284n, 296; XIV. 152n. (32a) IA. XIX. 268.

{33} Mānasollāsa, II. 2. 57.

{34} EI. XII. 271, 280.

{35} III. 11.

allotted seats on all sides of the throne except the front. After them come all the princes, bowing to the king and seating themselves in front of him. Then come purohita, amātya, mantri and sachiva and take their seat at their respective places. They are followed by the mandalesvaras and samantamatyakas, whose seats are in front of the king to the right and left. Then enter other officers of state and take their appointed places. This number is quite enormous, and is recounted as follows: desādhikāriṇaḥ (governors of districts), grāmādhikāriṇaḥ (heads of villages), kośādhikāriṇaḥ (treasurers), balādhikāriṇaḥ (officers of the army), durgādhikāriṇaḥ (commandants of forts), vastrādhikāriṇaḥ (officers in charge of clothes), bhushādhikāriṇaḥ (officers in charge of ornaments and decorations), nishkādhikāriṇaḥ (mint officer), varṇādhikāriṇaḥ (officers in charge of castes), tulādhikāriṇaḥ (officers in charge of weights and measures), mudrādhikāriṇaḥ (officers in charge of royal seals), dūtādhikāriṇaḥ (heads of envoys), dushtādhikāriṇaḥ (heads of the jails, police departments), tīrthādhikāriṇaḥ (officers in charge of pilgrimage), nāvādhikāriṇaḥ (officers in charge of boats or ships), mārgādhikāriṇaḥ (officers in charge of roads), dvārādhikāriṇaḥ (heads of the door-keepers), bhārādhikāriṇaḥ (officers in charge of loads of merchandise), dipādhikāriṇaḥ (officers in charge of lights), malādhikāriṇaḥ (officers in charge of the wrestlers),

aṅgādhikāriṇaḥ (?), yodhādhikāriṇaḥ (officers in charge
 of fighters), devādhikāriṇaḥ (officers in charge of
 temples), śāstrādhikāriṇaḥ (lawyers?), dānādhikāriṇaḥ
 (officers in charge of charities), dandādhikāriṇaḥ (judges?),
 gajādhikāriṇaḥ (officers in charge of elephants),
 aśvādhikāriṇaḥ (officers in charge of horses), rathādhikāriṇ-
 aḥ (officers in charge of chariots), prāṇādhikāriṇaḥ (?),
 śastrādhikāriṇaḥ (officers in charge of swords and the like),
 chāpādhikāriṇaḥ (officers in charge of bows), mṛigād-
 hikāriṇaḥ (officers in charge of animals), pakṣhādhikāriṇaḥ
 (officers in charge of the aviary?), snānādhikāriṇaḥ (officers
 in charge of the baths), sūdādhikāriṇaḥ (officers in charge
 of the kitchen), toyādhikāriṇaḥ (officers in charge of
 water), chhatrādhikāriṇaḥ (officers in charge of royal
 umbrellas), tailādhikāriṇaḥ (officers in charge of oil),
 gavādhikāriṇaḥ (officers in charge of cows), ghāsādhikāriṇaḥ
 (officers in charge of grass), Kṣhīrādhikāriṇaḥ (officers
 in charge of milk), karmādhikāriṇaḥ (officers in charge of
 works), sayyādhikāriṇaḥ (officers in charge of bedrooms),
 kāntādhikāriṇaḥ (officers in charge of the queens),
 putrādhikāriṇaḥ (officers in charge of the princes),
 vidyādhikāriṇaḥ (officers in charge of schools?), vādyādhik-
 āriṇaḥ (officers in charge of musical instruments),
 geyādhikāriṇaḥ (officers in charge of singers), nṛttādhik-
 āriṇaḥ (officers in charge of dancers), chitrādhikāriṇaḥ
 (officers in charge of paintings), parṇādhikāriṇaḥ (officers

in charge of betel-leaves), sulkādhikārinah (officers in charge of customs), dhānyādhikārinah (officers in charge of corn), sūhadhikārinah (officers in charge of liquors?), etc. Mention is also made of tāmbuladhārinah (bearers of betel-bags), khaḍgadhārinah (swordsmen near the throne), kavayah (poets), ganakān (astrologers), pāthakāḥ (readers), kathakāḥ (reciters), vaitālikāḥ (heralds), etc. (36) In the amātyādhyāya Someśvara mentions the following officials: mantri (minister), puroḥita (chaplain), jyotirvid (astrologer), senāpati (general), dharmādhikāri (chief judge), kośādhyakṣa (treasurer), vaidya (royal physician), pratihārī (chamberlain), sandhivigrahika (minister of peace and war), lekṣaka (writer), sārathi (charioteer), sūda (royal cooks), and antahpurarakṣaka (protector of the seraglio). (37)

Someśvara says that the whole assembly should bow to the king as they would at the moon. The king should then ask the pratihārī to summon the weaker princes who have come for protection. These latter on entering should prostrate themselves before the throne. The king should sympathetically speak to them and make them take their appointed seats and befitting their position. He should please them with his words and present to them fine

(36) The officers have been enumerated in the order in which they are found in the text, and no attempt has been made to classify them.

(37) Mānasollāsa, II, 2.

clothes, jewels, ornaments, horses and elephants, villages, cities and even small territories. In like manner he should please the princes, ministers, warriors, officers, scholars and others who have assembled in the darbar.

In contemporary inscriptions mention is made of the following officials:

(i) Mahāmantri, Pradhānāgrāhi, Pradhānāmātya. (38)

These terms correspond to the chief minister. The officer with these designation appears to have enjoyed some sort of precedence among his colleagues. We also meet with the term Mahāpradhāna, which probably implied nothing more than an officer of ministerial rank, as all the important state functionaries are found to have assumed this epithet.

(ii) Mantri or ordinary minister.

The Mahāmantri and the Mantri apparently advised the king on all the important matters of state.

(iii) Purohita (39) His function was to propitiate the gods and to perform ceremonies to remove evils etc.

(iv) Senāpati, Senādhipati, Sainyādhikārī, commander of the army.

(v) Sandhivigrahi, Mahāsandhivigrahi. Somesvara says that he must be intelligent, well-versed in several languages, in matter connected with peace and war, in the art of

(38) BKL. I. 1. 52, line 7; Sudī ins. (EI. XV. 85ff); Gadag ins. (EI. XV. 352, Verse 32).

(39) SII, IX. I. No. 193.

writing and engraving and also able to deal with the
samantas and maṇḍalesvaras etc. (40)

(vi) Dharmādhikāri. Someśvara says that he must be
well-versed in the meanings of the Smṛitiśāstra and able
to administer justice in consultation with those who
know the smṛitis. (41)

(vii) Śrīkaraṇādhikāri or Śrīkaraṇa. He was the superin-
tendent of royal offices.

(viii) Paṭṭale Karaṇa ("Provincial Registrar").

(xiv) Akshapatalādhīpati (officer in charge of records), (42)

(x) Paśāyita, Mahāpaśāyita (officer in charge of robes).

He probably corresponded to the Vastrādhikārin of the
Mānasollāsa.

(xi) Mane-vergaḍe, the royal steward or the palace comptroller

(xii) Bānasa-vergaḍe (chief of the kitchen), He probably
corresponded to the Sūdādhikāri or Sūdādhyaḥśha of the
Mānasollāsa. Someśvara says he must be an expert in
cooking, should be able to examine carefully the king's food,
and cannot be bought over by the king's enemies (asambhedyā).
(43)

(xiii) Kadita-vergaḍe (the chief accountant).

(xiv) Haḍapavala (bearer of the betel-bag). He corresponded
to the tāmbuladhāri of the Mānasollāsa.

(40) Mānasollāsa, II.2.127-130.

(41) ibid. verses 93-94, EI.XV.352.

(42) BKI.I.I.No.52, line 7.

(43) II.2.134-137.

(xv) Antahpurādhyaksha, apparently antahpurarakshaka of the Mānasollāsa. Someśvara says that one who is unattractive in appearance, without greed, careful, who has his senses under his control, expert in

interpreting signs, pure, tested in the seven kinds of desire (sapta-kām-opadhā-sūddha) should be appointed as antahpurarakshaka. (44)

(xvi) Rājādhyaksha or Rājabhāri (king's representative)

(xvii) Kōśādhyaksha (treasurer)

(xviii) Mudrāhasta (officer in charge of the royal seal) (45)

(xviv) Sāvāsigaḷ-adhishtāyaka ("president of the intendants") (46)

(xx) Mantrapāla (recorder)

(xxi) Āsthānavastunāyaka (officer in charge of the property of the king's court)

(xxii) Dauvārika (door-keeper)

(xxiii) Gajasāhani (officer in charge of elephants)

(xxiv) Turagasāhani (officer in charge of horses)

(xxv) Pattasāhani (probably officer in charge of frontlets or fillets tied to the head of the king's favourite horses and elephants).

(xxvi-xxvii) Chāṭas and Bhaṭas. [Besides the above there were two special officers, one was the Sarvādhikāri or

(44) ibid. 146-150.

(45) BK. 46 of 1938.

(46) Lakshmeshvara Inscription. EI. XVI. 32ff.

Sarvādhyaaksha, who apparently had some sort of superintending power over all the departments of the state. It has been suggested that his functions might have resembled those of the Sarvārthachintaka of Manu. (47) The other was the Bāhattara-niyog-ādhipati, i.e. "the lord of seventy-two offices". (48) These seventy-two offices seem to have some connection with the royal camp. (49) Need was also felt for the elaboration of the office of the minister of peace and war. An inscription of the time of Jayasinha II mentions Vāvaṇarasa, the governor of Belvola and Puligere, as the Kannaḍa-sandhivigrahi, that is, the minister of peace and war for the Kannaḍa or Karnāṭa country. (50) The motive for this innovation is not at all apparent, as the Karnāṭa country formed an integral part of the Chālukya dominions. In inscriptions of the time of Somēśvara II we meet with officers styled Hēri-sandhivigrahi. The meaning of the word Hēri is not known. Dr. Barnett thinks that it may have been connected with the word hēriga, and the whole phrase in this case would signify "a minister in charge of secret intelligence department of the foreign policy". (51) In still later time we find an officer called Hēri-Lāṭa-Karnāṭa-sandhivigrahi and Hēri-Lāṭa-sandhivigrahi. (52)

(47) Advanced History of India, p. 193 (48) EI. XV. 33.

(49) cf. the expression Chālukya-chakresvara-kāṭaka-bāhattara-niyogi-nivaha (EI. XV. 88). (50) EI. XVI. 79;

(51) EI. XVI. 45.

(52) DKD. 458.

Curiously enough about the same time when these special officers were being created there was also launched a policy for concentrating a larger amount of civil and military powers in the hands of a few individual officers. Thus, for instance, Madhusūdana, an officer of Somesvara I, is described as the mahāprachanda-dandanāyaka, Kārnāṭakasandhivigrahādhipati, sārvaḥma-nāḥya-niyoga-rājādhyaksha ("the king's superintendent of the services employed in the Kingdom of the emperor"), who was also "the superintendent of the sons of learned men (bhaṭṭa-putrak-ādhishtāyaka), ^{who were} clever in the mastery of the languages of several countries and employed for being despatched ^{on} difficult royal missions to troublesome provinces". He is also called a yuvarāja (yuvarāja-padavi-virājita). (53) Somesvara II's officer Udayāditya is styled a mahāsamanbādhipati, mahāprachanda-dandanāyaka, mahāpradhāna hēri-sandhi-vigrahi manevergaḍe. (54) Under Vikramāditya VI, Kālimarasa (Kālidasa) rose to become a mahāpradhāna rājādhyaksha, Kaḍitavergaḍe, Kannada-sandhivigrahi dandanāyaka. (55) Another subordinate of the king Bhīvanayya, is described as mahāpradhāna sāvāsigaḷ-ādhishtāyaka, manevergaḍe paṭṭale-karaṇa dandanāyaka. (56) Bhogayya or

((53) The Nagai Ins. (Hy. Arch. se. No. 8, pp. 14, 22).

((54) EC. VII. sk. 129.

((55) The Nagai Ins. (Hy. Arch. se. No. 8, p. 3).

((56) The Lakshmeshwar Ins. (EI. XVI. 32ff).

Bhogabhaṭṭayya, who was a mahāsāmantādhipati mahāpradhāna Kannaḍa-sandhivigrahi, senādhipati, served under both Vikramāditya and his son Someśvara III. (57) Under Jagadekamalla II we have Keśimayya described as Mahāpradhāna antahpurādhyaksha Kari-turaga-patta-sāhaṇi śrīkarana sarvādhyaksha and hēri-lāṭa-sandhivigrahi. (58) Another officer, Kālidasa, is called a dandādhiśa mahāsāmantādhipati mahāprachandadanāyaka samastādhikāri manevergaḍe. (59) An inscription from Raybag describes him as bāhattara-niryyar (niyog?)-ādhipati rāya-pitāmaha mantri-chūdāmaṇi and mahāpradhāna. (60) Another officer of the same king, Barmarasa, became a mahāpradhāna antahpurādhyaksha Kari-turaga-sāhaṇi pergaḍe śrīkarana sandhivigrahi paṇāyita manevergaḍe haḍapavala. (61) These are typical examples, and there are many other instances of this kind in contemporary inscriptions. Some of the officers again attained extra special position in the court and assumed such epithets as Chālukya-rāja-rājya-bhāra-dhaureya and Chālukyarājya-mūla-stambha. (62)

At times significant marks of distinction were conferred by the king upon his favourite officers. Thus Vikramāditya VI allowed his ministers Someśvarabhatta and

(57) EC. VII. sb. 170; SII. IX. I. No. 123.

(58) SII. IX. I. No. 240. (59) IA. VI. 139.

(60) JBHS? 1930, p. 192ff. The inscription belongs to the reign of Jagadekamalla II, and not the first king of that name, as the editor supposes. (61) SII. VIII. 363.

(62) Hy. Arch. se. No. 8, p. 14; SII. IX. I. Nos. 123, 158.

Raviga to use all the marks of royalty (sva-rājya-
 ohihna, samasta-rājya-ohihnangal). (63) Several other
 facts in connection with these high state officials
 deserve attention. The study of our records ~~suggests~~ shows
 that ^{many} ~~all~~ of them assumed the distinctive epithets of
 mahāprachandadandanāyaka and mahāpradhāna, which seem
 to signify that they were ^{officers} ~~magistrates~~ of ministerial
 rank and also indicated their civil and military powers.
 They were very often sent to govern important provinces
 and also to administer taxes of particular territories.
 Thus Bhīvanayya, a subordinate of Vikramāditya VI,
 to whom we have referred above, was administering Palasige
 12000 and the achchupannāya tax of the seven and a half
 lakh country in 1102 A.D.. (64) In the reign of the same
 king Anantapāla, who was ^a mahāprachandadandanāyaka
 mahāpradhāna bānasaveragade, was administering the
 vaḍḍarāvula tax of the seven and a half lakh country in
 1112-13 A.D. and was later on sent to govern the province
 of Veṅgi. (65) We need not multiply other instances. These
 minister-governors are probably referred to as sāmantāmā-
 tyakas in the Mānasollāsa. The policy of investing high
 officials with wide and extensive power, both civil and

II. XV. 351, 359; XII. 281, 287.

military, and also entrusting to them the government of provinces was probably dictated by the necessity of waging constant wars by the Chālukya kings against their neighbours. But it ultimately contributed to bring about the ruin of their sovereignty in the Deccan by facilitating the rise of all powerful state functionaries like Bijjala.

IV. Law and Justice.

The stability of any government worth its name largely depends upon an ^{impartial} ~~important~~ administration of justice to its subjects, and proper punishment meted out to the wicked and criminals. This fact was thoroughly recognised by writers on law and polity in ancient India, and they insisted that the king should personally look into the complaints of his people. (1) Somesvara III also repeats that the administration of justice should be the personal concern of the king. (2) The Chālukya kings ^{seem to have} acted according to this advice. Among the early rulers Maṅgaleśa receives special praise for his adherence to justice in his own kingdom (sva-rāṣṭre nyāyānuvartī). (3) In later times we find Somesvara I and Vikramāditya VI settling disputes brought before them for adjudication. (4) Besides the king, as we have seen, there was an officer at the centre called the dharmādhikāri. In the provinces the governors must have discharged the same function. The princess Akkādevī, about whom we shall speak below, had under her a

(1) see P.V.Kane, History of Dharmasastra, II.pp.57,242 for various references on the subject in literature on Law and Polity.

(2) Manasollasa. II.20.1234; Kane, ibid.

(3) The Nerur Plates (IA.VII.161)

(4) SII. IX. I. Nos. 123, 169.

dharmādhyaksha. (5) In the towns and villages the duty was entrusted to local councils often headed by the king's officials, and sometimes without the presence of the latter.

In deciding cases the king's and other officials were in all probability guided by the injunctions of the Smṛitiśāstras. Long standing customs (pūrva-maryyāde, pūrva-bhukti) apparently played an important part. (6) So also did the vyāvasthe or charters of privileges granted by kings, governors or individuals to other individuals, local bodies and temple corporations, etc. (7) Under certain circumstances, as we have seen, the king himself could make laws which took precedence over others. Finally the opinion of Brāhmanas, members of craft-or social-guilds and village authorities also must have been solicited and enforced in particular cases. (8) Trial by ordeal was resorted to on occasions. One of our records mentions that two Brāhmanas occupied the umbali land of three gāmuṇḍas by force, and continued to enjoy it for three years. The latter decided to fight with the Brāhmanas, and an agreement was reached that if any one of them died fighting, the other two should give to the

(5) The Sudi inscr. of s 976 (EI. XV. 80ff)

(6) The Lakshmeshwar ins. of Yuvarāja Vikramāditya (EI. XIV. 190b) EI. XIII. 171. (7) EI. XIV. 190f; BK. 170 of 1934; 179 of 1934

ASI. 1934, p. 241; Bk. 52 of 1929; Bk. 8 of 1935; EI. XV. 78f, etc.

(8) The Lakshmeshwar ins. of Yuvarāja Vikramāditya enjoins the royal officials to protect the authentic testimony of good men (EI. XIV. 190f).

heir of the dead man one-third more share of land in addition to his legitimate share. The fight seems to have taken place before Somesvara I when he was leading an expedition to the south and the agreement was duly honoured. (9) A Gadag inscription of the time of Vikramāditya VI refers to ordeals by dipping the hands into boiling water, striking a snake placed in a jar and mounting the balance. (10) Some of the inscriptions again supply interesting information regarding punishment for certain offences. An epigraph from Anjheri (Nasik district) belonging to the time of Vikramāditya II prescribes that a fine of Rs.108 should be levied for outraging the modesty of a virgin; Rs. 32 for adultery; Rs.16 for mutilation of an ear; Rs.4. for bruising the head; Rs. 108 if a merchant's son is found to have illicit connection with a female porter, and if one is caught in the actual act of adultery the decision of eight or sixteen elders of the town should be regarded as final. (11) An inscription of the time of Taila II ordains that the nose of the woman guilty of adultery is to be cut off and the male adulterer put to

(9) SII. IX. I. 123; SIE. 1921, p. 88.

(10) EI. XV. p. 360.

(11) EI. XXV. p. 237f.

death. Causing wounds and letting out blood by beating is to be punished with a fine of 8 panas. (12) The Kotavumachgi inscription of the time of Taila's grandson Vikramāditya V gives the following list of fines for criminal offences: 2 panas for abusing one another; 3 gadyānas for drawing a dagger; 12 for stabbing (it is provided^{mat} the amount may vary in consideration of distinction of caste); 3 if a bachelor commits adultery. (13). An inscription of the time of Somesvara I imposes a fines of one pana for defaming, 6 panas for striking, 12 for causing blood, and 8 panas for association with those who are given to plunder. (14) A Gudi inscription of the time of the same king contains the following curious information : "if one strikes (with a weapon) a thief, robber, burglar, enemy or evil-minded person under a shop, screens, verandah, there shall be a fine but no guilt; the fine upon the striker shall be three gadyānas. If one strikes with the finger(?) the fine shall be gold gadyānas, with the cudgel the fine shall be two panas". (15) Cattle lifting accompanied with rape of women was a very common offence

(12) SII. IX. I. No. 77

(13) EI. XX. 68ff.

(14) SII. IX. I. 102.

(15) EI. XV. 79f.

in certain parts of the Kanarese area. The inscriptions of Taila II and Vikramāditya V show that there was hardly any uniformity in the punishment of the crime of adultery (and there must have been many other instances of the same kind) in the same age and almost the same region, and a lack of sense of proportion in the minds of those who prescribed it. The varying of punishment in consideration of the caste of the offender proves the influence of the smṛiti writers on criminal administration. (16) The fine for defaming is undoubtedly interesting.

V. Army.

The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang bears eloquent testimony to the fact that the early Chālukyas maintained a highly efficient military machine. (1) He specially praises the bravery of their soldiers and the strength of their elephants. The Badami inscription of Maṅgaleśa tells us that Kīrtivarman obtained banners of victory in many a battle in which the charioteers, elephants, cavalry and infantry took part. This suggests that all the four traditional divisions of the army were maintained by the early Chālukyas. On the other hand, the Nerur plates of Maṅgaleśa refer only to the elephants,

(16) cf. Manu, VIII, 267-68; Yājñavalkya, II. 220-24.
 (1) see above, p. 80.

cavalry and infantry of the Kalachuri king Buddharaja, and as far as we can judge from other records, the chariots most probably fell into disuse in those days, or were very seldom used. The Aihole inscription of Ravikṛīti speaks of the six-fold army of Pulakesin II, namely, *maula* (hereditary), *bhṛitaka* (mercenary), *sreni* (caste-men), *mitra* (troops supplied by allies), *amitra* (troops that once belonged to the enemy), and *ātavika* (foresters). The same record also refers to the navy of the Chālukya king with which he invested Purī, the capital of the Mauryas. (2) For purposes of defence forts were built on land (*sthaladurga*) and in water (*jaladurga*), over hills (*giridurga*) and in forests (*vanadurga*). In the later Chālukya period the main composition of the army and the defensive arrangement did not alter much. Somesvara III no doubt refers to the *sārathi* and the *rathādhikāri*, but there is no epigraphic evidence to show that the chariots were used in war. It is also doubtful if the later descendants of Pulakesin II maintained a navy. (4) They also seem to have depended to a great extent upon feudal levies supplied by the principal feudatories.

The chief command of the army was vested in

(2) Verse 21.

(3) EI. VI. p. 5; Chipurapalle grant of Vishnuvardhana, IA. XX. 16f.

(4) The Kadambas of Goa seems to have had a navy. The Narenda inscription refers to Shashtharaja's victory in naval engagement (EI. XIII. 298ff).

the king himself both theoretically and practically, and he was helped by the senāpati or senapātis. It is interesting to note that in the later period we find many generals of Brahmin extraction. There was no clear cut division between the civil and military functionaries. Both in the early and later times the Chālukya kings appear to have been accompanied by the women of their seraglio when they went on military campaigns. This is implied by the statements in the Godval and Savanura plates that Vikramāditya I made grants of land from the jayaskandhāvāra at Uragapura in the Cholikavishaya at the request of Gangamahādevī and Agnipodī; (5) and the claims of the Chola kings Rājendra II and Virārājendra that they captured the queens of Someśvara I and other women at the battles of Koppam and Kudal-sāngaman. The battles in those days were very often accompanied by the destruction of property, including temple property, and slaughter of inhabitants of the country without any distinction of caste, creed, sex or age. (6)

(5) EI.X.100ff. BISMJ. XXI.73ff.

(6) e.g. the destruction of Vātāpi by Narasimha Pallava and the spoilation of temple property by the three rulers of the Tamil states; the slaughter and destruction perpetrated by the Cholas in the reign of Satyāśraya and Someśvara I; the imprisonment of country folk, burning etc. done by Jayasimha when he rose in rebellion against Vikramāditya VI.

VI. Revenue.

The mainstay of public economy in ancient India was the tax on land. This was supplemented by customs and octroi duties; professional taxes, fines levied upon criminals and various other imposts. The rulers also tapped natural resources like mines, forests etc. for additional income. Another source of revenue must have been the tributes obtained from feudatories. Forced labour was perhaps very often demanded, and the king and his servants also enjoyed accommodation, gifts, perquisites, etc., at the expense of the subjects.

The early Chālukya records distinctly refer to the following:-

1. Bhāga: the king's share of reaped corn.
2. Bhoga: translated as "enjoyment". It has been suggested that this probably refers to the right of the landlord or the tenant to enjoy the land when left fallow, or to the use of waste and taking of grass etc.
3. Udraṅga: exact meaning not known. Bühler takes it to mean the share of the produce usually collected by the king. Dr. Barnett suggests to me that the word may have been connected with draṅga, a police officer, and signified some sort of a tax for maintaining the police.
4. Uparikara: another obscure term. Fleet thinks that it

was a tax levied on cultivators ^{who} had no proprietary right to the soil. Dr. Barnett points out to me that this word is an exact translation of the Tamil word mēl-vāram, which means the upper tax.

5. Kara: rent proper, or according to some extra cess.

6. Nidhi-upanidhi: treasure-trove.

7. Hiranya: literally gold. Perhaps a kind of levy demanded in cash.

8. Suṅka or toll, under this head we may include the stall tax, caravan tax, pannasa income etc. mentioned in inscriptions. (1)

The birth tax (~~putt~~ige) and taxes for celebrating the festivity of attaining puberty are referred to in the Lakshmeshwar inscription of Yuvarāja Vikramāditya (II) and Balagamve inscription of Vilṇayāditya respectively. The former record also refers to fines for theft, minor delinquencies and "ten offences", and escheat of property to the crown in the absence of any heir. A Pattadakal inscription of the time of Vikramāditya II, after recording a grant made by the queen, says that there is no peremptory demand (tagappu), no obligation of presenting cattle, no right of perquisites allowed to the king's servants. (2)

(1) EI. XXV. 235; SIE. 1938, p. 82.

(2) IA. X. 167.

Another epigraph of the time of the same king, recording a grant by a feudatory, lays down that there shall not be any accommodation or provision for state officials (rājapurushānām vāsako jemakāścha etān nāsti).

(3) Reference to *vishti* or forced labour is met with in the last mentioned record and the Sanjan plates of Buddhavarasa. (4)

During the period of the later Chālukyas the taxes on land fell under the following known heads; *Siddhāya* (fixed land rent), *pratisiddhāya*, *bhaṭṭāya*, *aṇuvana* (quit rent), and (?) *dasābandha* (4a). The principal custom duties were the *heryjūka* (levied on the chief articles of trade), *kirukula* (levied on miscellaneous articles in which the transaction was small), *vaddharāvula*, and *pannāya* (taxes on betel-leaves and araca nuts); *bilkoḍe* (tax paid on every load of betel leaves by the people of the town); *tonṭa* and *bannigadere-sunka* (garden toll); *manneya-sunka* (seignorial tax) etc. We also find reference to two other taxes, namely *biravana* and *mēlālke*, the nature of which cannot be determined. Besides these, references are made to the house tax (*maṇedere*, *manevam*), oil-mill tax, taxes on grass,

(3) EI. XXV. 237f.

(4) EI. XXV. 237f; XIV. 149f.

(4a) For *prati-siddhāya*, see IA. XIX. 164; *Bhaṭṭāya* (SII. IX. I. 162), *dasābandha* (Bk. 71 of 1937); SIE. 527 of 1913.

fire-wood, vegetables, salt, sugar, etc. Among the professional classes levies on the artisan, barber and gardeners (toṭigas) are mentioned. (5) Fines on criminals were known as daṇḍāya and daṇḍadoṣha. Festival expenses (bilḍu-biya) were exacted. Forced labour and benevolencies were also not unknown. (6) One had to take special presents (kāṇike) if he wanted to go near the presence of the king. (7) The local authorities also levied extra cesses for specific purposes whenever required.

It has been rightly pointed out that in those days the burden of taxation fell almost wholly upon the merchant and professional classes and the cultivators of the soil. On the other hand we should remember that a considerable portion of the revenue was given back in the shape of temple endowments and other gifts for constructing or maintaining irrigation works, like tanks or wells, feeding and rest houses, educational institutions etc. What ultimately went to the coffer of the king must have been spent mainly on the palace expenditure, salary of the officials, maintenance of the army and the like.

Taxes and duties were realised both in cash and

(5) Bk. II of 1934; SII. IX. I. Nos. 132, 195.

(6) SII. IX. I. No. 77; EI. XV. 341, 346 and note.

(7) *ibid.*

in kind. In the early Chālukya inscriptions mention is made of ⁰monetary units called gadyāṇaka and pana. (8) An inscription coming from the Nasik area speaks of the Krishnarāja-rupeka, probably a coin introduced by or current in the days of the Kaṭachchuri king Krishnarāja. (9) The inscriptions of the later Chālukyas very often refer to gadyāṇa and pāga or hāga. Another unit was pon or honnu 'gold'. (10) One inscription refers to Lokki gold coins and Peacock gold coins. (11)

VII. Territorial Divisions.

For administrative purposes the kingdom was divided into small territorial units. In the early Chālukya inscriptions occur such terms as maṇḍala, viśhaya, āhāra, bhoga, bhaga, pathaka and grāma. Of these, maṇḍala and viśhaya formed the largest units, and they possibly connoted something like a province. Āhāra generally indicated a smaller unit than a Viśhaya. Thus the Nausari grant of Śrīyāśraya Śīlāditya refers to the Thāharikāviśhayāntargata Kaṇḍavalāhāravishaya. But the name Kaṇḍavalāhāravishaya itself indicates that these āhāras should perhaps be distinguished from ordinary āhāras like Khetāhāra (cf. also Talitātāhāravishaya

(8) EI. III, 5; XIV. 188f.

(10) SII, IX, I. 260.

(9) EI. XXV. 235.

(11) *ibid.* No. 164.

mentioned in the Raygarh plates of Vijayāditya). Bhoga and bhāga were definitely smaller than maṇḍala and vishaya. Thus we have a Sātimālabhoga in the Palayattthānavishaya, Eḍevolabhāga in the Banavāsī-maṇḍala. These territorial units had in all probability a fiscal implication. The only instance of a pathaka called Moshinipathaka is met with in the Lohanera plates. The exact relation between āhāra, bhoga, bhāga and pathaka cannot be determined. The smallest territorial unit of course was the village, grāma.

Towards the close of the early Chālukya period the practice of indicating different territorial units by adding numerals to them came into vogue. The Sanjan plates of Buddhavarasa refers to the Dvādaśagrāma on the sea shore in the Avarantavishaya; the Bagalkot plates of Vijayāditya refer to Mallagrāma 30; a Pattadakal inscription of Vikramāditya II records the grant of Nāreyāṅgal 50; the Anjheri grant of Bhogaśakti speaks of Purī-Konkana consisting of 14000 villages (chaturdaśa-grāma-sahasra-saṁkhyam); and finally Dīdgur inscription of Kīrtivarman II refers to Banavāsī 12000. (1) Scholars are not unanimous as to the actual implication of these numbers. Burnell and Rice thought that they denoted the amount of revenue.

(1) EI. XIV. 149f; SIE. 1934-35, p. 57; IA. X. 167; EI. XXV. 230; VI. 253.

Fleet was of opinion that "the reference is to the numbers, real, exaggerated, or traditional of the cities, town, and villages". According to Pran Nath the figures indicated the estates, while others think that they point to the number of population. The whole question has been discussed by Altekar, and we are inclined to agree with the view, first set forth by Fleet, that the figures refer to villages, real as well as fictitious, in a particular territory. (2) It may also be noted in this connection that several writers on Law and Polity, including Somesvara III, recommended grouping of villages for administrative purposes, (3) and here is another instance of their influence upon the rulers of the Karnāṭaka and the adjoining region. In the later Chālukya period the use of the figures against territories to indicate the size of the political units came into very extensive use, though such terms as *deśa*, *janapada*, *maṇḍala*, *vishaya* and *nāḍu* to denote a province or a part of a province, were not altogether unknown. We also find reference to smaller units called *Kampana* and *thāne*. (4)

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- (2) Altekar, *Rāshtrakūṭas and their times*, pp.139-149. That even such a large figure as 96000 added to Gangavādi, was supposed to indicate the number of villages (*ur*), is now proved by the Halebid inscription of 1097 A.D. (MAS.1936, p.181)
- (3) For reference see Kane, *History of Dharmasāstra*, III.141
- (4) For *thāne*, see BK.73 of 1936;

VIII. Feudal and Provincial Government.

Every empire that arose on the soil of India, including perhaps the highly centralised empire of the Mauryas, consisted of two main political groups, namely (a) the imperial provinces and (b) a number of feudal principalities. The empires of the early and the later Chālukyas also did not form exceptions to this rule. Indeed a close study of the political system under the later Chālukyas leaves the impression that under them the principles of feudalism received a very wide extension, apparently, as we have suggested before, due to military reasons. The feudatories belonged to different grades. The Aihole inscription of Ravikīrti refers to the existence of the anubhāvopānata sāmāntas like the Gangas and Ālupas, pratāpōpanata sāmāntas like the Gurjaras, Mālavas and Lāṭas, and the dandōpanata sāmāntas who are not specified but who must have included the Kadambas, and the Nelas and Mauryas if they were not totally extirpated. (1) The former two groups naturally enjoyed more freedom of activities than the last mentioned one. Under the later Chālukyas also we find that there were powerful feudatories like the Yādavas, Hoysalas, Śīlāhāras, Kākatiyas, Nolamba-Pallavas and perhaps the

(1) EI. VI. 5f.

Kadambas of Goa who enjoyed almost an independent position and even exercised the right of waging war.⁽²⁾

(2) Another group consisted of local families like the Rattas of Saundatti or the Sindas of Telburga, who enjoyed a large amount of local autonomy but certainly could not claim the same power and prestige as the members of the first group. The Kadambas of Banavāsi and Hangal and apparently the Sāntaras seem to have formed a class by themselves. Our records reveal that the territories over which they ruled were also administered by officers appointed by the emperor side by side with them. Thus for example the Nilgund inscription of Taila II tells us that Kannapa ruled Belvola, Puligere, Kogali and other districts of Banavāsi.⁽³⁾

(3) In 997 A.D. Bhīmarasa was governing (Banavāsi) 12000 and Sāntalige 1000. (4) In 1024 A.D. Brahmadādhīpa was administering several provinces including Hangal. (5) In 1036 A.D. Akkādevi was ruling Hangal, Banavāsi etc. (6) In 1045 Singanadevarasa was ruling Kisukād, Banavāsi, Sāntalige etc. and so on. (7) The native rulers of Banavāsi, Hangal and Sāntalige apparently enjoyed very limited power.

(2) see DKD.435.

(4) EC.VII.SK.179.

(6) EI.XVI.75ff.

(3) EI.IV.204ff.

(5) Elliot.I.27.

(7) See DKD for other instances; also Moraes, Kadamba-Kula, Chap.VIII.

The records of the early Chālukyas show that the imperial governors were recruited from amongst the ranks of the royal princes including the Yuvarāja, near relatives of the royal family (note the cases of the Dhruvarāja Indravarman of the Bappūra family and Senānanda, the maternal uncle of Pulakesin II) subordinate chiefs (note the case of the Sendrakas of Khandashā who were possibly followed by the ancestors of the Rāshtrakūṭa Dantidurga), as also from amongst individual officers of haphazard origin who must have distinguished themselves by their loyalty, administrative talent or generalship (note the case of Svāmichandra of Konkana). (8) Under the later Chālukyas the same practice was apparently continued. We have already referred to princely governors like Daśavarman, son of Taila II, and Someśvara II, Vikramāditya VI, Jayasimha and Vishnuvardhana-Vijayāditya. But far more remarkable was the appointment of royal ladies to administrative posts during this period. The practice was not altogether new in the Kanarese country. Though the case is not altogether beyond doubt, it is possible that Vijayamahādevī, the consort of Chandrāditya the eldest brother of Vikramāditya I, ruled as a provincial governor. The Gāṅga King Śrīpurusha's queen

(8) EI. XXV. 230f.

kañchi

~~Paramabhe~~ was administering Āgali in his forty-second year; and the Ganga King Būtuga's queen ^{Paramabhe} ~~Paramabhe~~ governed Kurgal. (9) An inscription at Kesarabhavi informs us that a daughter of Rāshtrakūṭa Amoghavarsha I was ruling over the Eḍadōre and other districts, in 837 A.D. (10) The later Chālykya, requisitioned the services of the royal ladies on a wider scale. The earliest instance of a later Chālukya princess serving as an administrative officer is that of Akkādevī, sister of Vikramāditya V and Jayasimha II and aunt of Someśvara I. Her official career was a long one, and she served under all the three kings. In 1010 and 1021 A.D. she was administering Kisukāḍ 70; in 1037 A.D. Banavāsī 12000 jointly with the Kadamba Mayūravarma; in 1050 and 1054 Kisukāḍ 70, Toruḷgare 60 and Māsavāḍi 140; She was still alive in 1067 A.D. Akkādevī is praised for her virtuous qualities and uniformity of speech (ēkavākye), and one inscription describes her as "the very Bhairavī in battle and in destroying hostile kings" In 1047 she laid siege to the fort of Gokage (Gokak in the Belgaum district), most probably to quell some local disturbance. (11) Among other instances of princess-administrators we find mention of Mahādevī, daughter of Sattiga, i.e. Satyāśraya, who was

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(9) EC.X.Mb. 80; IV.Hn.92.

(10) BKI.I.I.No.7.

(11) For Akkādevī see EI.XV.75f; 77f, 80f; XVI.75f, 82f; IA.XVIII.273f; BKI.Nos.86, 88 etc.

ruling Moruvolal (Maral in the Bijapur district) in 1024 A.D.; Suggaladevī, daughter of Someśvara I who was administering Niḍugundi in Kisukāḍa 70 in 1076 A.D., and Mailaladevī, daughter of Vikramāditya VI, who together with her husband Jayakesi II of Goa, was ruling, in addition to the hereditary territories of the Goa Kadambas, Unkul 30, Šabbi, Kuntakuli 30, Hānungal 500, Utsugrāma 30, Kādaravalli, Polalgunde 30, Velugrāma 70 etc. (12) Someśvara I and Vikramāditya VI also appointed their queens as state officials. (13) During the reign of the former Mailaladevī was holding the government of Banavāsi 12000 in 1053-54 A.D., and Ketalaadevī was managing the Ponnavaḍa agrahara in 1054 A.D.; under the latter Sāvaladevī was administering Nāreyamgaḷ, which her husband had given for her aṅgabhoga in 1077-78 A.D., Lakshmiḍevī is said to have been ruling at the capital of Kalyāni in 1084-85 A.D., in 1095-96 A.D. she was administering the town of Dharmapura together with wighteen agrahāras; in 1109-10 and 1111 she was managing the village of Nittasiṅgi. Ketalaadevī was ruling Siruguppe (Bellary district) in 1091-92 A.D. (14)

(12) BKI. I. I. Nos. 61, 117, EI. XIII. 317f.

(13) Most of the following instances have been mentioned by Fleet, see DKD. pp. 440, 448f.

(14) SII. IX. I. No. 159. She should not be confused with Someśvara I's queen of the same name. Note also that Someśvara II, like that of his father, had a queen named Mailaladevi (SII. IX. I. No. 134)

Jakkaladevī was managing Ingunige in 1093-94 A.D.; Malleyamadevī was administering Kiriya-Kereyur in 1094-95 A.D.; and finally Padmaladevī was ruling the agrahāra Mangola (Magola in the Guntur district) apparently situated in the distant province of Vengī, in 1116 A.D. (15) We have already drawn attention to the fact that the later Chālukyas also appointed their ministers as imperial governors.

The rank of a feudatory and imperial governor before Pulakesin II was indicated by the title rāja (e.g. his maternal uncle Senānanda is given that title). After Pulakesin II we find also the use of the term mahārāja (Chandrāditya is called mahārāja, so also the Sendraka Pogilli and the Ālupa Chitravāhana; Sendraka Nikumbhāllasakti, however, is described as a rāja in the Kasare plates). (16) The epithets Satyāśraya, Śrīvallabha, Śrīprithivīvallabha etc. were also not the close preserves of the emperor himself. Thus Dhruvarāja-Indravarman gets the epithet Satyāśraya; Senānanda is called Śrīvallabha; Chandrāditya, Vishnuvardhana, Nikumbhāllasakti, Avanijanāśraya Pulakesin of Lāta and Dantidurga are all described as Śrīprithivīvallabha. (17)

(15) SII. IX, I. No. 195.

(16) EI. III. 50f; IA. XIX. 142ff; IA. XIX. 149ff; BISMJ. XX. 66f; XXI. 69f.

(17) JBBRAS. X. 365; EI. III. 50f; IA. VII. 163f; VIII. 45f; XIX. 303ff; BISMJ. XX. 66f; XXI. 69f; EI. LXXV. 30.

In the Kasare Plates the epithet samavāptapañchamahā-sabda is applied to Nikumbhāllaśakti, while Dantidurga and his ancestors are referred to in the Ellora plates as samadhigata-pañchamahāśabda mahāsāmantādhipati. (18)

In the later period the usual titles assumed by feudatories, as well as imperial governors, were samadhigata-pañcha-mahāśabda- mahamāndalesvara or mahāsāmantādhipati. The full imperial titles current in those days, however, are applied to Jayasinha (III), even though he was only an imperial governor. (19) Another instance is found in the case of Udayāditya, the Gaṅga subordinate of Someśvara II. (20) It should also be noticed that Śrīprithivīvallabha appears as a standing epithet of the Nolamba-Pallavas.

The governorship in later times were held under various conditions. Taila II, as we have seen, ruled Tardavādi as an anuga-śivita or follower's fief. This mode of tenure is also mentioned in subsequent inscriptions. (21) The fiefs held by the princes were known as Kumāravritti. (22) Vāvanarasa ruled the two six hundreds (i.e. Belvola and Puligere) according to sarvābhyantara siddhi, probably with full internal rights. (23) Mallarasa

(18) EI. XXV. 29f.

(19) DKD. 440n.

(20) IA. IV. 208f.

(21) e.g. the Hottur ins. EI. XVI. 88f

(22) ibid. SII. IX. I. No. 118. (23) BKI. I. I. No. 65; cf. also EI. XV. 88, 92.

governed Sindavādi according to tribhogābhyantarāsiddhi, a term which has been differently explained by different scholars. (24) The Haihaya Loka ruled A[4]alu 300 and Mṛiti 300 as Bilānuvṛitti. (25).

The jurisdiction of the imperial governors in the early as well as later periods extended over a number of viśhayas. Thus Dhurvarāja-Indravarmān is styled the lord of four viśhayas and maṇḍalas. The inscriptions of the Chālukyas of Lāṭā record their grants in Naṣikyaviśhaya, Karmaneyāhāravishaya, Thāhīrikāvishaya, etc. The inscription of Bhoṣasakti also indicates that he exercised control ^{over} of several viśhayas. (26) The instances in later times are too numerous to need any special mention here. A study of the records of the later period again suggests that the emperor often made changes in the allotment of the viśhayas to individual governors. We cite here one or two typical examples. In 980 and 994 A.D. Gobhanarasa was governing Belvola and Puligere. In 1002 he is found administering Kunduru 500 and Kukkanūru 30 in addition. About a couple of years later (926 ^{c. 1004 A.D.}) he was ruling Belvola, Puligere and Palasige 12000, but no mention is made of Kunduru or Kukkanūru. (27) Vikramāditya VI ^{Sorindanāja} transferred Anantapāla and his nephew [^] from the Kanarese

(24) SII. VIII. No. 364.

(25) HY. Arch. se. No. 8, p. 25.

(26) EI. XXV. 230ff.

(27) see Bk. I. I. Nos. 45, 47, 48, 50.

area to govern the Veṅgi region. Another inscription of the same monarch informs us that Kakshmarasa, who was governing Belvola and Puligere in 1121 A.D., was for some time in charge of the Telugu country. (28)

The imperial governors, like the feudatories acted virtually as local chiefs. Both maintained costly courts which were almost replicas of the system prevailing at the centre. In the records of the Chālukyas of Lāṭa and the Sēndrakas of Khandesh we meet with their sandhivigrahika or Mahāsandhivigrahika. A Sudi inscription of the time of Someśvara I mentions that Akkādevī had under her a pradhāna (minister of state), an aliya, a manevergaḍe, an adapaḍa, two tantrapālas and a tantrada senābova. (29) Another inscription mentions her dharmādhyaksha, nāḍ-pergaḍe and senābova. (30) The governors also maintained their own private army. These high officials were apparently entrusted with extensive civil and military duties of varied characters and exercised enormous powers. Their loyalty to the emperor must have depended upon constant vigilance on his part upon their activities. The jayaskandhāvāras of the early emperors, and the nelegaiḍus of their later descendants

(28) ASI. 1933-34, p. 243.

(29) EI. XV, 77f.

(30) ibid. 80ff.

point to the fact that the sovereigns personally made tours of inspection of the provinces of the empire, and thereby kept themselves in touch with their powerful subordinates. (31) The description of the royal court found in the Mānasollāsa suggests that the governors, as well as other subordinate officers, were expected to attend the imperial darbar from time to time. The maintenance of a body of spies was another means by which the emperor appraised himself of the activities in different parts of his dominions. Finally, a Nagai inscription of the time of Someśvara I shows that the later Chālukyas had, under an highly placed officer at the centre, a body of intelligent young men, well-versed in the languages of several countries, who were employed by them to carry royal messages to troublesome provinces. (32)

Next in rank to the imperial governors were the Vishayapatis, who ruled the vishayas. Their functions were most probably analogous to those of the former, which they exercised over a limited area and on a smaller scale. Another officer called the rāshtrakūṭa is mentioned in both

(31) The nelevīḍus, literally "fixed or standing camps" are regarded by Fleet as something like cantonments which formed part and parcel of the military administration of the later Chālukyas period (JRAS. 1917, p. 117f). We are inclined to think that they corresponded to the jayaskandhāvāras of the earlier period. Another word found in later inscriptions is appayanavīḍu, which means a temporary halting place (JRAS. 1917, p. 117f). (32) Hy. Arch. se. No. 8, pp. 14, 22.

early and late records. His exact jurisdiction and functions cannot be determined with absolute certainty. An inscription of the later period informs us that mahāsāmanta Jayakeśīarasa was the rāshtrakūṭa of Puligere 300. (33) This implies that the official in question held a high rank which seems to have been on a par with the vishayapatis. During the early period the links between the village officials and higher officers in the districts and provinces were probably maintained through functionaries styled āyuktakas. In the later age, between the rulers of vishayas and nāḍas stood the nāl-gāmuṇḍas or nāl-gavaṇḍas. They are found in our records as managing territorial units like Basavura 140, Sattalige 70 etc. Of the same grade, and having perhaps similar functions, were the nāl-prabhuḥ. There were also the Nāḍa-karaṇas in charge of the offices, and the nāḍa-sunika-vergaḍe in charge of tolls and taxes, of these small divisions. Two other officers who find frequent mention in later inscriptions were the vergaḍe and the manneya. It is very difficult to determine their place in the official hierarchy. The former is found along with some karaṇas as governing Banavāsi on behalf of

(33) BK. 29 of 1936. For another reference to the rāshtrakūṭa in a late record, see SII. IX. I. No. 193.

Vallabharasa; in charge of the two six-hundreds i.e. Belvola and Puligere, in charge of Tardavādi, and also in the villages. (34) The pergades belonged to different classes. Reference has already been made to the Bānasa-vergade, mane-vergade and nāda-sunkā-vergade. Manneya-sunkā-vergade, perjjunkā-vergade, pannayada-vergade and sāda-vergade are also alluded to. The pergades thus discharged functions of a varied character, including revenue administration. As regards the manneyas, we find them administering small territorial units like the Mulgunda 12, and also big units like Puligere³⁰⁰, Tardavādi 1000, Elamelanādu, etc. (35) They were possibly a kind of revenue official. Another officer of this class was the sunkādhikāri. (36)

IX. Rural and Urban Government.

Villages formed the smallest division in the administrative system, and scholars are agreed that they constituted the most characteristic feature in Indian polity everywhere, and in all ages, - perhaps until quite recently. Records found in different parts of the vast country reveal the common fact that each village was a more or less self-contained unit, socially, economically and politically, and enjoyed a large amount of local self-government. In

(34)BK.122 of 1933,157 of 1927;196 of 1929,183 of 1934,72 of 1933,82 of 1933,etc.

(35)BK.111 of 1927;36 of 1934;155-56 of 1934;21 of 1937;46 of 1936 etc.

(36)Dr. Barnett translates the terms pergade as superintendent; nal-gamunda as the holder of county-shrievalty

Southern India it usually functioned through its own headman and an assembly of village elders. The records of the early Chālukya period refer to two officials who can be definitely connected with the villages, namely, the grāmakūṭa or village headman, who apparently discharged some executive duties, and the grāma-bhogika (also called simply bhogika), who must have been connected with the revenue administration. The Goa plates of Pulakesin II speak of an officer called bhojaka. He was very probably the same as the grāma-bhogika. The existence of the village assembly in this period is implied by the references to the mahattaras or "the elders" in certain copper-plate charters.

In the later Chālukya period the village headman was called the gāmūṇḍa. (1) An inscription at Kallihal (Dharwar district) shows that the gāmūṇḍa had to serve under a nāl-gāmūṇḍa. (2) Another record from the same area indicates that the latter could even appoint the former. (3) Some villages again had more than one gāmūṇḍa. Thus Sirivura had six, and Bennevara had twelve. (4) One inscription at Yaraguppe (Dharwar district) speaks of two hundred gāmūṇḍas of the place. (5) These large figures

(36) contd. and also as sheriff; manneya as controller of seigniories.

(1) The earliest mention of the word gāmūṇḍa is found in the Adur and Annigere inscriptions of the time of Kirtivarman II (IA, XI. 70; EI, XXI. 204f).

(2) BK. 122 of 1933.

(3) BK. 117 of 1933.

(4) BK 87 of 1928.

(5) BK. 36 of 1934.

indicate that at certain places the heads of the most important families, or of all the families, acted as gāmuṇḍas. We have another official connected with the village called the uroḍeya, lit. "the village-lord". He is usually taken to be a village headman. But our records clearly distinguish him from the gāmuṇḍa. For example, an inscription of c.1014 A.D. records the grant of a samsthāpatra to the uroḍeya and the gāmuṇḍas of Kanda (ga)le. (6) The relation between the two cannot be determined. As it is, the uroḍeya seems to have been a superior officer. We often find him at the head of the assembly of a village folk^{note}, though such a position was also occupied by the gāmuṇḍas as well. (7) Among other village officials mention is made of the senābova or the village accountant, and the talāra or watchman. In certain villages the pergade and the prabhu were also present.

The records of the Kanarese country to a certain extent reveal to us the composition and the activities of the village assemblies of the region. Sometimes the assembly consisted of the chief men (uttamapurushara) of the village (as in Sol 30). (8), or, of the Brahmin population (mahājanas); or, Brahmins and merchants (setṭis) (9); or,

(6)BK.52 of 1929.

(7)EI.XVIII.175f, 188 etc., EI.XVI.79, 81 88. Dr. Barnett translates Uroḍeya as the "mayor".

(8)EI.XVI.5, 8.

(9)BK.76 of 1928.

Brahmins and a learned body, (10) or, of the entire population consisting of the mahājanas, nakaras and other communities. (11) These bodies were generally entrusted with the management of temple properties and funds according to the conditions made by the donor, the maintenance of works of public utility like wells, tanks etc, or the conduct of useful institutions like those connected with education, feeding, charity etc. For the proper discharge of their duties they could levy local cesses. They also met to decide questions of common interest. Thus we are told that the fifty (mahājanas) and others of Balguli having assembled resolved to collect grain and salt at the rate of two ballas out of the quantity worth a pannu in each kind and invested 103 gadyānas to conduct a feeding-house for four persons every day. (12) They settled disputes among villagers, could try petty criminal cases and levy fines. (13) There are also instances which show that sometimes the sovereign himself, or officers of state, granted statutes (vyāvasthe) in favour of village assemblies conferring certain rights and privileges. (14)

Our knowledge about the municipal administration

(10) BK. 35 of 1934.

(11) BK. 163 of 1933.

(12) SII. IX. I. No. 89.
67b.

(13) The Kotavumachgi Ins. EI. XX.

(14) BK. 170 of 1934; EI. XV. 78ff; 85; XVI. 79, 81 etc. For some details connected with the village administration, see the Karnataka Historical Review, III. 10ff; V. 30ff.

under the Western Chālukyas is extremely meagre. Most probably the pattern of government in the cities and the towns did not materially differ from that of the villages, except in so far as was due to the predominantly mercantile character of the population in the former places. We do not hear of any official like nagarapati or purapāla. The Anjheri plates of the early Chālukya period refer to a town council headed by the merchants Ēla and Karaputa (Ēlasreshti-Karaputa-sreshti-pramukha-samasta-nagarasya) as well as to the city-elders (nagara-mahallakāḥ). The record shows that these bodies, like their counterparts in the villages, administered works of public utility etc, and could try certain criminal cases and levy fines. (15) The Lakshmeshwar inscription of Yuvarāja Vikramāditya contains a social (āchāra-vyāvasthe) and a municipal constitution (nagara-maryyāde) which the prince granted to the mahajanas, burghesses and other citizens of the town of Purigere. The record specified certain rights and obligations of the king's officers on the one hand, and the citizens of Purigere on the other. The former were required to protect the houses that were untenanted, the king's gift, the royal proclamation, authoritative testimony

of good men (?), constitutional usage (maryyāde), copper-plate edicts, continued enjoyment of estate enjoyed and the lives of the five dharmas. The other party was required to pay a house tax annually as festival expenses to the governor of the district; a birth tax, fine for theft, etc., to the guild and so on. Unfortunately this interesting record is only half legible in certain parts, and the concluding part is obscure and doubtful. No light is thrown by the records of the later Chālukyas on the municipal government in their days. We only know of a nagara-pergade whom Dr. Barnett takes to mean the ~~sheriff~~ of the city. (16)

Before we conclude this section reference should be made to the existence of professional guilds in the Karnāṭaka country during the early as well as the later Chālukya period, both in cities and in villages. They must have exerted considerable influence upon the political system of those days. But this can only be studied in connection with the economic history; which is beyond the scope of this thesis.

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